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MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The Hiſtory of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, and his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH, by the Author of the FEMALE QUIXOTE.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY the GREAT.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

A NEW EDITION.

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SUMMARY

OF THE

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attempts of Roſny's enemies to ruin him: marriage of his daughter with the duke of Rohan. Henry refuſes to give the *lieutenance-de-roi* of Saint-Jean d'Angely to the duke of Rohan: other favours and gratuities granted and refuſed to Roſny by the king. Henry's deſign to marry madęmoiſelle de Melun to the marquis of Cœuvres.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XIII.

AGITATED as the minds of the people were, by all thoſe domeſtic inſurrections we have ſeen in the preceding book, yet it did not hinder them from reſigning themſelves, this winter, to their accuſtomed pleaſures and ſhews. By the queen's order, and for her amuſement, a magnificent interlude was compoſed: the arſenal was the place the king choſe for the repreſentation of theſe ſhews, on account of the conveniency its ſpacious apartments afforded, both for the actors and ſpectators. At the time that this interlude was to be played, the wound I had received in my mouth at the ſiege of Chartres happening to open again, I was not in a condition to give the neceſſary orders at the arſenal, and they had already pitched upon another place for its repreſentation; but the king choſe rather to wait till I was cured, which retarded it eight days. 1602.

Towards the middle of Lent, the count of Schomberg, grand marechal of the empire, and envoy from the court of Vienna, arrived at Paris, into which he made his entry with a train of forty or

1602. fifty horſe: the king ordered the ſame honours to be paid him that the marechal de * Bois-Dauphin had received at Vienna. The prince, ſon to the marquis of Brandenbourg, ſtaid likewiſe ſome time at Paris. It was not uſual to defray the expences of perſons of his rank, eſpecially, as it was obſerved by his majeſty, if they did not follow the court; but the king was reſolved to ſhew a particular reſpect to a prince, whoſe family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in Germany, had always profeſſed a remarkable attachment for France; and I was ordered to ſend him every day, in his majeſty's name, preſents of the richeſt wines, and proviſions for his table.

When every thing was ready for the king's departure, and that his majeſty, in the ſeveral journeys he had made to Paris, had given all the neceſſary orders for ſecuring peace and tranquility in that city, and in the provinces he was going to remove from, as well as thoſe through which he was to paſs, he left Paris on the twentieth of May, and came to Fontainebleau, from whence he took the road to Blois. The queen and all her houſhold accompanied his majeſty in this journey; I likewiſe attended him, but did not ſet out till a few days after: the king ſent me notice of his arrival at Blois, and his intention of ſtaying there eight or ten days. This delay was no more than neceſſary for a regimen that was preſcribed him by his phyſicians, to cure a defluxion of humours which had fallen on one of his legs, and for the time it laſted, as Henry wrote to me, might well be called the gout. Blois likewiſe was the moſt proper city he could chuſe to diſcover the ſecret practices of marechal Biron: Henry had many perſons in this province in whom he could confide, who applied themſelves ſolely to the making thoſe diſcoveries, and almoſt every hour ſent couriers to him with the intelligence they had procured: by them the king was informed that Biron's cabal

* Urban de Laval, marquis de Sablé, who died in 1629.

extended

extended to Anjou, the higher Poitou, Xaintonge, 1602.
Mirebalais, Châtelleraudois, Angoumois, Perigord, Limoſin, Marche, and Auvergne, and even took in the higher Guyenne, and Languedoc; that it was ſupported by four or five noblemen of the court, whoſe names were not expreſſed, for fear of advancing any thing that was yet doubtful: the connexions with Spain, the ſchemes for ſurpriſing the frontier cities, and the arguments they made uſe of to diſguſt the people with the preſent government (the ſame which I have already mentioned) made up part of theſe advices, to which the following new informations were added.

The ſeditious, to prepoſſeſs the people with unfavourable thoughts of his majeſty's journey to Blois, which was doubtleſs a ſource of uneaſy apprehenſions to them, gave out every where that Henry had only undertaken it with a deſign to chaſtiſe ſeverely thoſe that had reſiſted Jambeville, d'Amours, and the other commiſſaries that had been ſent to exact the penny in the livre, upon the rivers and other places of paſſage, and to ſettle it himſelf, in ſuch a manner, that, by a new regulation of the rates, it ſhould produce thrice as much, and to force the duty on ſalt to be every where received, by taking poſſeſſion of the ſalt-pits, for which the proprietors were to have no other recompence than ſome rents ill paid from the town-houſe of Paris; and, laſtly, to ſtop the murmurs which it was expected the exacting of two tenths would raiſe (which, they made them believe, Henry had obtained the pope's permiſſion to levy) and the revocation of the drawbacks granted on the taxes of 1594, 1595, and 1596, which I have already mentioned in the account of my journey into the ſeveral diſtricts.

Thus was this good prince repreſented, throughout his whole kingdom, as a furious and implacable tyrant. They were never without one ſet of arguments to engage the catholic nobility in a rebellion againſt him, and another to ſow ſedition amongſt

1602. the proteſtant officers and gentry: to the firſt they repreſented, that this treaſure and this formidable artillery, which the king was providing, were to be employed in depriving them totally of their privileges; and reducing them to a ſtate of ſlavery; they perſuaded the ſecond, that the perſecution againſt them was already begun, that the payment of their garriſons, the funds for the preſervation of their cities, the penſions of their leaders, their officers and miniſters, would be leſſened this year by one third, and the next by two, after which there would be ſo much the leſs difficulty in depriving them of all their fortreſſes, as it was a point already agreed upon by the council, to exclude the proteſtants from all public offices and employments, by refuſing to expedite the patents for them.

If the proofs againſt the perſons of the conſpirators had been as clear as thoſe of their plots, the king might have that inſtant given free courſe to his juſtice; but, with regard to the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, for example, there was as yet leſs certainty of their guilt, than of marechal Biron and the count of Auvergne's; for at the moſt there were only ſuſpicions, though thoſe indeed were very ſtrong againſt them: the other lords of the court, whoſe names, to the number of eight, were found in the liſt, might be well ranged under a third claſs of perſons, whoſe doubtful conduct required ſome explanation. The dukes of Bouillon and Epernon attended the king in his journey to Blois, and his majeſty was of opinion he might be able to draw from themſelves a proof of their real ſentiments, by attentively obſerving the air and turn of their countenance, during the recital he made them of the news he received: he began firſt with d'Epernon. A juſt regard to truth has ſo often reduced me to the neceſſity of ſpeaking diſadvantageouſly of this nobleman, that it is with a real ſatisfaction I ſeize this opportunity of ſhewing his innocence, and giving him the praiſe he deſerves.

D'Epernon

D'Epernon hearing whiſpers about the court of intrigues and cabals, eaſily apprehended that, as it is uſual to judge of the preſent by the paſt, his name would not fail to be mentioned amongſt thoſe that were called enemies to the ſtate; for which reaſon he took the precaution to renew to his majeſty at Fontainbleau his aſſurances of fidelity: theſe aſſurances were all the proofs he had to offer, and unfortunately Henry, who had been long prejudiced againſt him, did not give much credit to them. Notwithſtanding this ſtep he ſtill continued to ſuſpect him, and becauſe d'Epernon in ſpeaking to him had referred to me, the king wrote to me at Paris an account of what had paſſed between him and the duke, letting me know, at the ſame time, that d'Epernon ſeemed to have an intention to make up matters with me, and he ordered me to make the firſt advances to him, to the end that, if the crime with which he was charged ſhould appear to be yet only intentional, his majeſty might not have any cauſe to reproach himſelf with having ſuffered the duke to ruſh into actual treaſon, when there needed only good advice and kind treatment to prevent him. 1602.

I obeyed the king's orders, and from that moment became convinced of the duke of Epernon's innocence: he ſaid the ſame to the king at Blois as he had done to me, and did not deny his having heard of ſome commotions and ſecret intrigues, but ſaid that theſe were always ſo general, and ſometimes ſo full of contradiction, that he could not imagine that any credit was to be given to them; that thoſe who were ſaid to be the authors or favourers of theſe plots having never given him the leaſt intimation of them, he had treated as a fiction, a project which appeared to him wholly extravagant, the preſent ſituation of affairs rendering the execution of it abſolutely impoſſible; but whether real or not, he offered the king to continue about his perſon, as a ſecurity for his own fidelity, during ſix months;

1602. and if that time was not ſufficient, he ſwore to him that he would not quit him till his ſuſpicions were entirely eraſed. The king could have no objection to ſo reaſonable a propoſition, and began, as well as I, to believe that the duke of Epernon was guiltleſs.

The duke of Bouillon diſcovered far leſs ſincerity: on the firſt mention his majeſty made of the plot to him, he treated it as a calumny invented by ſpies and informers, againſt the nobility of the kingdom, to exaggerate their own ſervices, and appear at leaſt to gain the money that was given them to exerciſe this employment: to this reproach, which tacitly attacked his majeſty, he added an application of a paſſage in the New Teſtament, *It is impoſſible but that offences will come, but woe unto him through whom they come*; a paſſage, which, if taken in its true ſenſe, might have been with more juſtice applied to Bouillon and his adherents. Bouillon did not ſtop here; he added, that it was true he was told, that the catholics, as well as the proteſtants, complained of their being oppreſſed with impoſts, and that in proportion as the king's riches and happineſs increaſed, they became poor and miſerable; that, beſides theſe general complaints, he had in a certain place, heard proteſtants ſay, that ſooner or later it would be their deſtiny to be looked upon as the plague and nuiſance of the ſtate; that both they and their children would be hated, perſecuted, and proſcribed; that they would be excluded from all honours and employments, and that the kingdom would never be quiet till they were totally extirpated: he added, that the more credit was given to theſe reports, becauſe that perſons of the greateſt abilities in the kingdom, not being admitted to the council, nor conſulted on affairs relating either to the difference of religions, or to the new impoſts that were eſtabliſhed, they could not inform the people of the true motive of thoſe reſolutions that were taken there, nor could the people attri-

attribute them to any thing but to a deſign to enſlave them. 1602.

It was ſufficiently plain that the duke of Bouillon, by talking in this manner, ſought to inſinuate to the king, that all theſe reports of a rebellion had no other foundation than the cries of the people oppreſſed with a multitude of taxes; and that this ſeeming diſcontent was put on to conceal from his majeſty his real ſentiments: but the inſolence and the ſeverity of his expreſſions ſhewed plainly enough that he could not reſiſt this opportunity of diſcharging ſome part of his malice; he even added, with the ſame ſubtilty, and with equal chagrin, that they had endeavoured to perſuade himſelf, that his majeſty intended to aboliſh the privileges of his viſcounty of Turenne, and to purchaſe the rights and claims of the houſe of Mark upon Sedan; but to this, as well as to every thing elſe, he had only replied, that he was perſuaded the king would never act in ſuch a manner, on account of the ſervices he had at all times received from the proteſtant body; he finiſhed by proteſting to his majeſty, that although all that had been told him concerning the ſeditious and traiterous attempts in the kingdom ſhould be as true as he believed them falſe, yet it ſhould never leſſen his duty and fidelity.

The king, diſſembling to the duke of Bouillon the opinion he conceived of him from this diſcourſe, made him a propoſal of the ſame nature with that which the duke of Epernon had of himſelf ſo frankly made, and which he expected would throw him into great confuſion: he told the duke, that he was ſatisfied with this aſſurance, and that he would no longer preſerve any remainder of diſtruſt of him, provided he would give the ſame ſatisfaction that Epernon had offered, which was, not to remove from the court while this affair continued in agitation, and that he might depend upon it he would not keep him about his perſon without communicating to him all his deſigns, and calling him to his coun-

1602. cils, as he ſeemed to deſire, that he might be himſelf a witneſs of his ſolicitude to relieve the people, and be able to give both the proteſtants and catholics an inconteſtable proof of the purity of his intentions. Bouillon preſerved an uncommon preſence of mind under this blow; he broke out into an exclamation of joy and ſurpriſe at the ſentiments his majeſty diſcovered for him; and as to the propoſal he made him, he told him that he would go and put himſelf into a condition to ſatisfy it, not for ſix months only, but for his whole life if neceſſary, by taking a journey throughout all his eſtates, that nothing might afterwards interrupt the long ſtay he intended to make at court. In this manner, by appearing to do all that his majeſty required, he reſerved nevertheleſs, the power of doing only what he pleaſed himſelf, and of making a plauſible excuſe for the ſudden departure he was meditating.

Henry, comprehending his deſign, reſolved to call a ſecret council to deliberate upon the meaſures that were neceſſary to be taken in this conjuncture.

The count of Soiſſons, the chancellor, Villeroi, Maiſſe, and myſelf, were all that were preſent at this council: all other affairs were poſtponed till* Deſcures was heard, who had been ſent by his majeſty to invite marechal Biron to court, and whoſe report was ſuch, that it was unanimouſly reſolved to arreſt this marechal and the count of Auvergne as ſoon as they arrived. The king afterwards demanded if it would not be proper to do the like by the dukes of Bouillon and Epernon, before they left the court: almoſt all the counſellors were of this opinion, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them qualified it no otherwiſe, than by ſaying that Biron was the only one to whom mercy might be afterwards extended, becauſe that acting nothing by himſelf, he would eaſily be reduced to reaſon, when he was ſeparated from thoſe who hurried him on to his ruin.

* Peter Fougeu, lord of Deſcures.

I took

I took particular notice of this advice upon account of its ſingularity: mine, however, was directly oppoſite; I could not approve of the arreſting of Epernon, or even of Bouillon: if in ſuch caſes ſuſpicions were to ſerve for proofs, it was likewiſe neceſſary, I ſaid, to arreſt all whom La-Fin had accuſed, and myſelf the firſt; that in caſe they ſhould afterwards be found innocent, they would, by this precipitate action, loſe an opportunity of ſeizing Biron and Auvergne, whoſe treaſons were manifeſt, ſince it would be impoſſible to arreſt them all at the ſame time, and their flight would put it out of our power to prove any thing againſt the priſoners. The arreſting of Bouillon and Epernon, I added, would have this farther ill conſequence, that, whether guilty or innocent, his majeſty could not diſpenſe with himſelf from treating them as traitors, through a juſt fear of what their reſentment only of ſuch a public outrage might induce them to act againſt him. The king yielded to this advice, and the council broke up, it being already dinner time. His majeſty being deſirous of conferring with me alone upon what had been debated in the council, bid me ſnatch a ſoldier's dinner, and come back to him before the court filled again. 1602.

When I went down into the hall, where I was waited for by a crowd of people who attach themſelves to men in power, I ſaw the duke of Epernon advancing to meet me, who, with the ſame air of conſcious innocence which I had before obſerved in him, told me, that ſuch long and ſecret councils alarmed a great many perſons, but he was not of the number, becauſe he had nothing to reproach himſelf with. I replied, that he had then nothing to fear, the king being more diſpoſed to pardon the guilty, who confeſſed their crimes, than to puniſh the innocent on ſuſpicions only. "I "perceive," added I, "many people who are leaving the court; but thoſe whoſe conſciences are "clear need not have recourſe to that expedient."

"I am

1602. "I am one of theſe," added Epernon; "and I "am reſolved not to leave the court while theſe diſ- "contents continue." "You cannot do better, "monſeigneur," replied I; "and I promiſe you, "that, on this occaſion, you ſhall not loſe the "merit of having taken ſo good a reſolution."

When I came home, I ordered my *maitre d'hotel* not to furniſh my table as uſual, but to ſerve me up any thing that was ready. Nicolas * came in juſt as I was ſitting down to table: "Come waſh im- mediately," ſaid I, without telling him of the or- ders I had juſt given, "and take your place." He was greatly aſtoniſhed to hear me, after I had drank two glaſſes, and eaten a haſty morſel, aſk for the fruit, and, at the ſame time, order my horſe to be got ready: he who loved good chear as well as mirth, was not pleaſed at this order. "*Pardieu*, "monſieur," ſaid he, "I am not ſurpriſed that you "paſs for one of the wiſeſt noblemen in France; I "don't know one who can drink three glaſſes dur- "ing the whole time you are at dinner." "Well, "well, monſieur Nicolas," replied I, "do you make "an end of your dinner; as for me, I have bu- "ſineſs that calls me elſewhere."

I related to his majeſty what d'Epernon had ſaid to me a little time before. The king agreed with me that d'Epernon had no inducement to engage in an affair that was carried on by perſons, whoſe religion and diſpoſition were different from his; by which likewiſe, while he had no advantages to hope for, he run the hazard of being ſtript of his eſtates and employments. D'Epernon had judgment enough to know that the ſcheme of theſe rebels was likely to be a fatal one. "Not," ſaid the king,

* Simon Nicholas was the king's ſecretary, "a poet, a facetious "man, and an old offender, ſays "the Journal of Henry IV. be- "lieving in God only for intereſt, "and, for this reaſon, he became "the more acceptable to company, "according to the corrupt man- "ners of thoſe wretched times. "He died two years after, in the "70th year of his age, in his laſt "illneſs expreſſing himſelf with "infamous impiety."

"that

" that probably in his heart he is not glad of theſe 1602.
" diſorders, that he may become more neceſſary to
" me; but he knows by experience ſuch deſigns are
" often blaſted." His majeſty charged me to make another effort to prevail upon the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille to ſtay at court, but to wait till he went to Poitiers, becauſe he might then receive intelligence that would determine him. I uſed my utmoſt endeavours for this purpoſe, in the preſence of meſſieurs de La Nouë, de Conſtant, d'Aubigne, and de Preax, but all were ineffectual.

During their majeſties ſtay at Blois, an affair of a very different nature was in agitation at court, which I am under ſome perplexity in relating, for it made too much noiſe to be paſſed over in ſilence; yet I am not at liberty to enter into an explanation of it here, leſt I ſhould betray the ſecret confided to me only by the king and queen, whom it perſonally concerned; the medium therefore which I ſhall obſerve, is to recount only ſo much of it as got air, and came to the knowledge of the courtiers.

It was reported that the king and queen had ſome difference together, which was confirmed by the king's ſending Armagnac * for me ſo early in the morning, that he was ſtill in bed, as well as the queen, and, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, each in their ſeveral apartments. It was obſerved that I had been ſeveral times backwards and forwards between them, and I had been ſeen kneeling three or four times before the king and queen, as if I was endeavouring to obtain ſome great favour of them. As nothing in ſuch caſes eſcapes the inquiſitive courtiers, each formed particular conjectures upon theſe circumſtances, as alſo that with the names of the king and queen, they heard thoſe of the duke and ducheſs of Florence, and Mantua, Virgil Urſin, Don John, Bellegrade, Trainel, Vinti, Joannini, Conchini, Leonora, Gondy, Catherine, Selvage, and the mar-

* Firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king.

chioneſs

1602. chioneſs of Verneuil; other perſons, they ſaid, were hinted at, under the covert name of the colour of tan. They endeavoured to diſcover ſomething by my wife, having learned that Conchini, who had often buſineſs with her, and who publicly paid her the ſame reſpect as a ſervant to his miſtreſs, and often addreſſed her by that title, had been ſeveral times ſent by the queen to bring her, and that ſhe paſſed many whole afternoons ſhut up with her majeſty in her cloſet, when ſhe was alone, or when only Leonora was with her.

But that which afforded moſt matter for diſcourſe, was, that at the time when theſe diſputes ran higheſt, La Varenne came one morning to acquaint me, that the king waited for me in the new gallery which he had lately cauſed to be built at Blois, over thoſe that were the length of the garden below; it is that in which there is the odd repreſentation of a hind with a ſtag's horns. It was obſerved, that his majeſty ordered two Swiſs, who underſtood not a word of French, to be placed centinels at the end of this gallery which was not yet cloſed up, and that, during two hours and more which we continued together, we ſeemed to talk with great earneſtneſs and action. They might, notwithſtanding the diſtance, hear ſome of our words, from which they could draw no lights; but it was not the ſame with thoſe which his majeſty ſpoke when he went out; theſe they underſtood, and carefully remembered. "No "more need be ſaid of it; I will regulate my whole "conduct by your advice, ſaid the king, that I may "be no longer reproached with obſtinately following my own will; but remember, that we may "probably both repent it one day, for you cannot "but be affected with any misfortunes that happen "to me. I know the diſpoſition of thoſe perſons "who foment our differences, they will be the cauſe "of great uneaſineſs to the ſtate: gentleneſs and indulgence are laudable qualities, I confeſs; but "you cannot deny alſo, that their extremes are

"dan-

" dangerous." It was not difficult for them likewiſe to diſtinguiſh the latter part of my reply to the king: " It was, indeed, a part of prudence, " I told him, to foreſee and to prevent bad acci- " dents, but it was equally neceſſary to avoid " haſtening them by uſeleſs precautions." On this they founded their ſuſpicion, that the king had a deſign to proceed to ſome violent meaſures againſt certain perſons of the queen's * houſhold, and who were moſt in her confidence. 1602.

From Blois the king came to Poitiers; he afterwards ſhewed himſelf in the Limoſin and Guienne: his preſence produced every where ſo good an effect, that he found no oppoſition to his will, not even to the eſtabliſhment of the penny in the livre †: he might have afterwards continued this impoſt, and the collecting of it would have met with no difficulty; but, ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of his people, he took that opportunity to change it into a ſmall ſubſidy, and afterwards to ſuppreſs it entirely. The edict of revocation expreſſed, that his majeſty was wholly induced to it by the obedience of his ſubjects. Henry, pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his journey ‡, returned again to Fontainebleau, whither he was ſoon followed by marechal Biron.

* This is ſpeaking very plainly; and as the other memoirs of that time all agree with this notion, it can ſcarce be doubted, that Henry had not only taken a reſolution to clear the court of theſe informers, who exaſperated the queen's mind againſt him, but likewiſe to make this princeſs ſenſible of her indiſcretion, by forbearing to ſee her, and obliging her to live at a diſtance from him in one of his palaces, and perhaps by ſending her back to Florence. We may ſee in the Hiſtory of the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 9. that this prince had threatened her both with the one and the other. It is probable that M. de Roſny thought this laſt courſe rather too violent, as, in fact, it was, all circumſtances conſidered.

† La Septennaire ſays, that M. de Roſny was ſent for this purpoſe by his majeſty to Rochelle; and that he was commiſſioned by the Rochellers to make remonſtrances to the king for ſuppreſſing the pancarte or tariff of this impoſt.

‡ During this journey to Poitiers, ſays la Septennaire, which laſted near two months, the court ſeemed melancholy, the king penſive; no councils, no judicial proceedings were held, except at Blois: all which was owing to the public and private diſquiets of Henry, of which mention has already been made.

1602. The conſternation his party was thrown into by the king's journey, convinced him that his affairs were not ſo far advanced as he had been willing to believe; this made him take a reſolution to go to court, which ſeveral other motives contributed to confirm. His treaty with Spain and Savoy was not yet upon ſuch a footing, as could give him hopes of having an immediate ſupply of what troops and money he had occaſion for. Too glaring an oppoſition to the king's will might raiſe ſuſpicions of his treaſonable practices, which hitherto he imagined had eſcaped notice; nor was it unlikely, as the baron de Lux, his friend and confidant, repreſented to him, that the king, upon his repeated refuſals to appear before him, would march directly to him with an army, as to a declared rebel; which would be a fatal ſtroke to the marechal, who was neither in a condition to defend himſelf, nor to retire into any of his fortreſſes, which were unprovided with ammunition of every kind, particularly of artillery.

I had prepared Biron for this ſtroke, by the precautions I took ſome months before: I repreſented to him, that it was neceſſary all the pieces of cannon in the fortified places of Burgundy ſhould be caſt over again, and the powder new beat. The attention with which I applied myſelf to all the duties of my employment, as grand maſter, was alone ſufficient to have made this propoſal paſs unſuſpected; but that I might not give the leaſt umbrage by it to the marechal, I was the firſt to offer him to ſupply the deficiencies, by furniſhing him with plenty of every thing that was neceſſary from the arſenal of Lyons, which I had lately filled with great care. I conſented that Biron ſhould diſpatch ſome of his ſoldiers to Lyons, to eſcort the boats that were to be loaded with pieces of cannon I was to ſend him, and that he ſhould receive them before he ſent away thoſe he already had. He was ignorant that I had taken ſuch meaſures every where, that the boats from Lyons which went up the Saone very ſlowly,

were

were ſtopped by the way, till thoſe that came from Burgundy had got beyond the places under his juriſdiction; and when both were in my power, my boats proceeded no farther. 1602.

Biron did not perceive the artifice I had made uſe of till it was out of his power to prevent it: he diſcovered ſo violent a rage againſt me, and boaſted ſo publicly he would poignard me, that the king wrote to me never to go out without a good guard. I had likewiſe, as if without deſign, poſted the light horſe upon the paſſage of the Loin. But all this, which Biron probably believed to be done only to mortify him, could not open his eyes: De Lux and he drew no other inference from the impoſſibility they were now under of defending themſelves, but that it was neceſſary they ſhould deceive the king, till by foreign aſſiſtance they had provided for their ſecurity. Deſcures and Jeannin acted in ſuch a manner with them, as to increaſe this confidence; and La-Fin had not only given Biron * the ſtrongeſt aſſurance that he had not betrayed him, but likewiſe, that he had ſought for an interview with the king with no other view than to ſound him, and that he had found him very far from gueſſing the truth; this he again confirmed to him at Fontainebleau, where, as he paſſed him, he ſaid theſe words; "Courage, my maſter, and ſpeak boldly." The council had likewiſe ſo earneſtly kept the ſecret, that the court was wholly unacquainted with what was deſigned againſt Biron; and d'Epernon hearing of his arrival at Fontainebleau, ſent him ſuch offers of ſervice as are uſual amongſt perſons of high rank †;

* The marechal de Biron imagined that he had ſeen the treaty that was made with Spain flung into the fire; but La-Fin deceived him, by burning, inſtead of it, a piece of waſte paper.

† The duke d'Epernon did not deny, that upon this occaſion he had performed all the offices of a friend to marechal de Biron; "When he "converſed with him upon this af"fair, ſays the hiſtorian of his life, "he did not do it in ambiguous "terms, as others did, but with "great openneſs and ſincerity. "He acquainted him with La"Fin's treachery, and ſhewed him "all the proofs of it, and exhorted "him to throw himſelf upon the "king's mercy. This clears the

1602. in which, after what had paſſed at Blois, he was guilty of great imprudence, as he has ſince confeſſed himſelf.

I had taken a tour to Moret when Biron arrived at court; the king ſent me notice of it in the following billet: "My friend, our man is come: he "affects great modeſty and reſerve; haſte hither "ſpeedily, that you may adviſe us what is to be "done: Adieu, my dear friend." I returned immediately, and found the king walking before the pavillion where I was lodged, with Praſlin *, whom he left to come to me. He took my hand, and continuing his walk, told me, that he had in vain

"duke d'Epernon. Du Pleſſis-"Bauſſonniere, a gentleman of "honour, and very much attached "to the duke (it is the ſame whom "he ſent to meet the marechal) "was the perſon employed to "uſe all ſorts of arguments to pre-"vail with him to aſk the king's "pardon: hence this gentleman, "aſſured of his own and his pa-"tron's innocence, could never "be induced to retire into a fo-"reign country, after that the "king, who was not ignorant of "this ſtep, had cauſed the ma-"rechal de Biron to be arreſted; "in which he did the duke d'Eper-"non a conſiderable ſervice. And "he afterwards gave him a ſecond "piece of advice, which proved "very ſucceſsful, and that was, to "confeſs freely to his majeſty all "his proceedings with the ma-"rechal Biron, with what views "and intentions he had treated "with him." The ſame hiſtorian, in this account, throws in ſome hints, which diſcover the very bottom of the duke d'Epernon's ſentiments, and which at the ſame time ſerve to ſhew his character: "The "duke d'Epernon, ſays he, and Bi-"ron, having gone together to the "Louvre to pay their compli-"ments after dinner, his majeſty "being told beforehand of their "coming, placed himſelf at a win-"dow, to obſerve, through the "glaſs, their motions and coun-"tenance. A friend of the duke "d'Epernon, who was about the "king, gave him notice of this, "that he might regulate his be-"haviour accordingly. But he acted "quite contrary to what he was "adviſed; and being more and "more confirmed in the teſtimony "he received from his conſcience "of his innocence, and filled with "a juſt and high indignation "to ſee his fidelity ſuſpected, "he walked on with an upright "countenance, and his eyes di-"rected towards the window "where he knew the king lean-"ed. This his majeſty took par-"ticular notice of, and made thoſe "about him do ſo too. The king "afterwards made a match at ten-"nis, in which the count de Soiſ-"ſons, with the king, played "againſt the duke d'Epernon and "the marechal. It is at this match that the hiſtorians of that time make the duke utter a good ſaying, telling the marechal, "that "he played well, but choſe his ſide "badly." Hiſt. de la vie de duc d'Epernon, an. 1602. p. 205.

* Charles de Choiſeul, marquis de Praſlin, captain of the firſt company of guards, died a marechal of France in the year 1626.

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endeavoured, by every method he could think of, to extort from Biron * a confeſſion of his crime, although he was ſo little capable of concealing his thoughts, that he read them plainly in his countenance. His majeſty afterwards laid open to me his moſt ſecret ſentiments with regard to the marechal; he ſtill felt for him all his former tenderneſs, and beheld him not with reſentment, but compaſſion: ardently he wiſhed, that I would ſuggeſt to him the means by which, without incurring any danger, he might avoid treating him as a ſtate criminal: but this was not eaſy to be done, conſidering the diſpoſition Biron was known to be of; if it was dangerous to ſuffer him to eſcape, when he ſhewed no ſigns of repentance, it was no leſs ſo to releaſe him upon his word, after letting him know that he had proofs of his treaſon. 1602.

The king once more reſumed a reſolution ſuggeſted to him by the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, which was, to endeavour to reſtore the marechal to a right way of thinking; but as he had not been able to ſucceed in this attempt himſelf, he ordered me to undertake it, and promiſed me to avow all I ſhould ſay to Biron to engage his ſubmiſſion, provided that I gave him no hint of what La-Fin had ſaid, to prevent the deſign of arreſting him, to which he muſt have recourſe if the marechal per-

* The king, wearied out with his obſtinacy, ſuddenly left him, ſaying, as he went away, "Well, "I muſt learn the truth elſewhere: "Adieu, baron de Biron." Theſe words were like lightning before a clap of thunder, that ſtruck him to the ground; the king thereby degrading him from thoſe many high dignities to which he had advanced him. The ſame day, after ſupper, the count de Soiſſons alſo exhorted him, in the king's name, to own the truth to him; and concluded his remonſtrance with this ſentence of the wiſe man, "The anger of "kings is the forerunner of death." Pref. ibid. After dinner, ſays le Septennaire, he came to wait on the king, who was walking in his grand hall, where his majeſty, ſhewing him his ſtatue in relievo triumphing over the vanquiſhed, ſays to him, "Well, couſin, if the king of "Spain had ſeen me thus, what "would he ſay?" To which he lightly made anſwer, "Sir, he "would fear you but little." All the lords that were preſent took notice of this preſumptuous anſwer, and the king looking ſternly at him, Biron, who obſerved it, explained his meaning, by adding, "I mean, Sir, that ſtatue, but not "this perſon."

1602. ſiſted in his obſtinacy. "If he opens himſelf freely "to you, ſaid the king, upon the confidence you muſt "endeavour to inſpire him with of my favourable "intentions towards him, aſſure him, that he may "come to me without fear, and confeſs all; and if he "diſguiſes no part of the truth, I promiſe you, upon "my royal word, I will pardon him chearfully."

I went to the caſtle to ſee the marechal, who was in his majeſty's chamber, talking to La-Curée at the head of the bed. I had a ſufficient number of attendants with me: and the marechal, ſeeing his people make way at my approach, advanced to ſalute me, but did it very coldly. I thought I ought to begin, by endeavouring to ſoften the reſentment I knew he entertained againſt me: "How is this! "monſieur, ſaid I, embracing him, you ſalute me "with the gravity of a ſenator, contrary to your "uſual cuſtom; you muſt not be thus reſerved; "embrace me a ſecond time, and let us talk freely." When we were ſeated, and out of the hearing of any perſon in the room, "Well, monſieur," ſaid I, in an obliging tone, "what a ſtrange man are you! "have you yet paid your reſpects to the king? how "were you received by him? what has he ſaid to "you? you know his diſpoſition is frank and open, "he likes others to be ſincere with him; I am "told you behaved in a very reſerved manner to "him, which was far from being ſeaſonable, nor "did it ſuit with either his temper or yours: I am "your kinſman, your friend, and your ſervant, take "my counſel, and you will find it will be uſeful to "you; tell me freely what you have upon your "heart, and depend upon it I will procure you ſa-"tisfaction; be not apprehenſive that I will de-"ceive you." To all this Biron contented himſelf with replying in a cold and indifferent manner, "I "have waited on the king with all the reverence "and reſpect that I owe him; I have anſwered all "his queſtions, which were only on general mat-"ters, nor had I any thing more to ſay to him."

" Ah! monſieur, replied I, it is not thus that you 1602.
" ought to act with the king: you know the good-
" neſs of his heart, open yours to him, and declare
" freely to him, or to me, if you had rather it
" ſhould be ſo, all your grievances, and I promiſe
" that, before night, you ſhall be ſatisfied with each
" other." " I have nothing more to ſay either to
" the king or to you than what I have already ſaid,
" returned the marechal; but, if his majeſty en-
" tertains any ſuſpicion of me, or thinks I have
" given him any cauſe of complaint againſt me,
" let him or you acquaint me with the occa-
" ſion of theſe ſuſpicions and diſguſts; and I will
" give you ſatisfaction." " The king," ſaid I, in
my eagerneſs to ſave him, " is offended at your
" coldneſs, for as to other particulars, added I im-
" mediately, he is quite ignorant: but let your con-
" ſcience be your judge, and act in the ſame man-
" ner as if you knew we were informed of your moſt
" ſecret actions; nay, even your words and thoughts;
" for I proteſt to you upon my honour, this is
" the moſt certain way to obtain whatever you can
" deſire from the king. The method I recommend
" to you I always follow myſelf: if it ever happens
" that I commit any little fault, I acknowledge and
" exaggerate it to the king, who then grants me
" all I wiſh: If you will believe me and take my
" counſel, dear marechal, purſued I, you and I ſhall
" govern the court and be at the head of affairs."
" I am willing to believe you," replied Biron with
the ſame coldneſs, " but I have nothing to accuſe
" myſelf of; I feel my conſcience perfectly at eaſe,
" ſince the confeſſion I made the king at Lyons."
Although I had probably ſaid but too much al-
ready, yet I could not hinder myſelf from making
him ſtill ſeveral other inſtances, which he received no
better, and ſoon after withdrew to his own lodgings.

The king entering that moment, I repeated to
him all that I had ſaid to Biron, and his anſwers.
" You have gone rather too far, ſaid this prince to

1602. " me, and have ſaid enough to create ſome ſuſpicion " in him, and even to induce him to fly. Go " into that gallery," added his majeſty, after reflecting ſome moments upon the blindneſs and obſtinacy with which the marechal hurried on to his ruin, " and wait for me there; I would talk to " my wife and you alone." Accordingly he returned a ſhort time afterwards with the queen, and ſhutting the door of the gallery, he told us that the double obligation he was under, as a king and father, to watch over the ſafety and happineſs of the ſtate, leaving him no other part to take but that of arreſting marſhal Biron and the count d'Auvergne, all that now remained was to conſider how to do it ſecurely *. His majeſty was of opinion, that we ſhould wait till the marechal and the count were retired each to his reſpective lodging, and that then ſoldiers ſhould be ſent to inveſt them. I propoſed that they ſhould be in the king's cloſet till the night was far advanced, and that, after the greater part of the courtiers, weary of waiting for his majeſty's retiring, ſhould be withdrawn, they ſhould then be ſeized as they went out of the king's apartment. " I do not ſee how this can be done, replied Henry, " without having my chamber and cloſet filled with " blood; for they will not fail to draw their ſwords

* It would not have been done, if the marechal de Biron had taken advantage of the notice that was given him. A certain perſon put a letter into his hand, as he was going to wait on the king after ſupper, in the name of the counteſs de Rouſſy his ſiſter, and, as he inquired what news, upon finding that the bearer made no anſwer, he doubted ſomething elſe was the matter, and, after opening the letter, he found notice given him, that, if he did not make his retreat in two hours, he would be arreſted, and directly ſhewed it to one of his friends called de Carbonnieres, who ſaid to him, Then, adieu, ſir; I wiſh I had a poignard in my breaſt, provided you were now ſafe in Burgundy. To this he made anſwer, Suppoſe I were there, and that I were to have four in mine, upon receiving the king's orders, I would immediately come hither. Notwithſtanding this, he went into the king's chamber, where he played at primero with the queen, and in the midſt of his game, the ſieur de Merge, a gentleman of Burgundy, was obſerved to whiſper ſomewhat in his ear, which the marechal not regarding, the count d'Auvergne came alſo and twice touched him on the ſide, telling him, " It " is not ſafe for us to be here." Sept. ibid.

" and

" and defend themſelves, and if this ſhould hap- 1602.
" pen, I had rather it were in their apartment than
" mine." I thought it of moſt conſequence, upon this occaſion, to avoid, as much as poſſible, all noiſe and confuſion; but the king continuing firm in his firſt propoſal, took leave of me, bidding me go home to ſupper, " and at nine o'clock, ſaid he,
" let your horſes be prepared, and you and all
" your people be booted, ready to mount and ſet
" out when I ſend for you."

I withdrew to my pavillion, where, after giving orders, conformable to thoſe I had received from his majeſty, I went into my cloſet, from whence I could ſee all that paſſed about Biron's apartment, which was in the pavillion oppoſite to mine. I read and walked about alternately, without neglecting to obſerve what was doing on that ſide where I expected ſoon to ſee the attack begun, and to receive new orders from the king. The clock ſtruck nine, ten, and eleven, yet nothing was done; at length midnight came, yet all was quiet: I am afraid, ſaid I, returning into my chamber, where all my domeſtics waited for the ſcene that was preparing, ſome at play, ſome in converſation, and others aſleep, I am afraid, ſaid I, that they have not taken their meaſures right, and have ſuffered the birds, which with ſo little difficulty they might have taken, to eſcape, and which will not be eaſily entrapped again. I then ordered them to ſaddle my horſes, and pack up my baggage, while I went into my cloſet, and wrote a few words.

I continued there half an hour, after which I heard a noiſe at the door of my pavillion next the garden, and a voice that cried, Monſieur, the king ſends for you. I looked out at the window, and knew the meſſenger to be La Varenne, who went on, ſaying, " Monſieur, come immediately, the
" king wants to ſpeak with you, and to ſend you
" to Paris, to give the neceſſary orders there, for
" meſſieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne are made

1602. "priſoners." "And where were they taken?" ſaid I*. "In the king's cloſet," he replied. "God "be praiſed," ſaid I, "that the king has followed "that advice." I ran directly to his majeſty's apartment. "Our men are ſeized, ſaid he to me; "mount your horſe, and go and prepare their lodg- "ings in the Baſtile; I ſhall ſend them in a boat "to the gate of the arſenal next the river: make "them land there, that they may not be ſeen, and "carry them without any noiſe through the midſt "of your courts and gardens. When you have "made proper diſpoſitions in the arſenal for their "reception, if you can, before they arrive, which "they will do ſoon after you, go to the parlia- "ment and the town-houſe, and declare there what "has happened; tell them, that, at my arrival, "they ſhall know the reaſons for this proceeding, "which they will find to be juſt." All theſe orders were happily and exactly executed. At the very moment that the priſoners landed at the arſenal, my wife was brought to bed of that daughter of mine, who bore the title of mademoiſelle de Sully.

I gave the care of the priſoners to the ſoldiers of the king's guards joined to my own, and poſted them in ſuch a manner that they might be ſaid to be guards upon each other. I likewiſe placed a guard upon the baſtion, oppoſite to the windows in the priſoners apartment, and another upon the

* Vitry arreſted the marechal de Biron as he came out of the king's antichamber. "Sir, ſays he to "him, the king has commanded "me to give him an account of "your perſon; deliver me your "ſword." "You but jeſt," replies Biron to him. "Sir, rejoins "Vitry, the king has ſo command- "ed me." "Pray, ſays the "marechal again, let me ſpeak to "the king." "No, ſir, returns "Vitry, the king is retired to reſt." Praſlin waited at the ſame time for the count d'Auvergne at the gate of the caſtle, to whom, as he came out, he ſaid, "You are the king's "priſoner." "What I, I," returned the count d'Auvergne, much ſurpriſed. "Yes you, Sir, ſays "Praſlin to him; I arreſt you in "the king's name, deliver me your "ſword." "Here take it, replies "the count, it has never killed any "but wild boars; if you had ac- "quainted me ſooner of this, I "would have been in bed and "aſleep two hours ago."

terrace

terrace of the tower; ſo that, as I wrote to the king, it was impoſſible they ſhould eſcape, unleſs by the interpoſition of angels. The repeated advices I received from his majeſty obliged me to take all theſe precautions. A few days after the detention of the priſoners, the king wrote to me, that he was informed, there was a ſcheme laid to procure their eſcape, ordering me to watch them carefully, for that I ſhould anſwer for them. I conſented to this condition, relying on the fidelity of my ſoldiers, who, to make an eſcape practicable, muſt have been corrupted every one. Another time the king ſent me notice, that the plot which was formed for delivering Biron and d'Auvergne, was alſo againſt my perſon: a boat full of ſoldiers was in the night to come up the river, and the men were to land at the ſteps of a gate behind my apartment which looked upon the river; that they were to force open this gate with a petard, to do the ſame by the ſecond, and get into my chamber while I was in bed, and carry me to Franche-Comté, freſh horſes being in readineſs for them at the end of every ten leagues, and that, when in poſſeſſion of my perſon, they were to deal with me by way of repriſal, as Biron ſhould be dealt with. This laſt information, although ſo circumſtantial, appeared to me as frivolous as the reſt: I thanked his majeſty, however, for giving it me. He had the goodneſs to command me to be ſtrictly attentive to my own ſafety, aſſuring me, that, if the deſign which was laid againſt me ſhould ſucceed, he would not heſitate a moment to purchaſe me at the price of freeing the priſoners, and, if there were occaſion, by a ſtill greater conceſſion. To ſatisfy him, I placed a ſmall guard likewiſe at this gate. 1602.

The firſt preſident, the preſident de * Blancmeſnil, and the two counſellors de Fleury and de Thu-

* Achilles de Harlay, the firſt preſident; Nicholas de Potier ſieur de Blancmeſnil, preſident; Stephen de Fleury, dean; Philibert de Thurin, counſellor of the grand chamber.

1602. rin, were named by the parliament to interrogate the prisoners, whom, for this purpose, I ordered to be carried into a small pavillion, in the midst of the great walk of the arsenal: as it was necessary likewise that they should be examined in full parliament, I caused a covered boat to be prepared for them, in which they were carried thither, and brought back again without being seen. The history of this trial, and all the particulars of the event I am now relating, are known to every one, and that marechal Biron *, seeing Miron, the lieutenant civil, at the foot of the scaffold, gave him a caution against La-Fin, took his leave of the elder Rumigny, entreating him to bear his respects to mademoiselle de Rumigny, which, he said, was all the present he had to make her, and many circumstances of the like nature. The sudden sallies of rage, the terrors and weaknesses which this man †,

* The particular account of this affair, to which the author here refers, is to be found in all the historians, and in many other writings.

† These inward agitations had almost deprived him of his senses, and gave great trouble to the assistants, especially to the executioner, who durst not let him see his sword, and who yet took his opportunity so well, by amusing the marechal, that he made his head fly off at one blow, which he gave so dextrously that it was scarcely seen. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of learning, that marechal Biron the father was as remarkable for erudition as the son for ignorance: he could scarcely read. The following account of him from the Chronologie Septenaire, will serve to finish his character. The author, after observing that he had almost all the qualities necessary to make a great warrior, namely that he was brave, successful, indefatigable, sober, and temperate, adds, "He "was particularly fond of splendor, proud and ostentatious, and "even has been often known to "despise the pleasures of the table, "and live abstemiously, that he "might gratify his fantastic passion "for glory; he was daring in battle "and immeasurably ambitious: he "was so presumptuous as to believe that neither the king nor "France could do without him; "he was also become so malevolent and slanderous, that he spoke "ill of all princes; he has been "often heard to ridicule the mass, "and make a jest of the pretended "reformed: there are numberless "instances given of his having but "little religion; he relied very "much on the predictions of astrologers and divines." The author after this gives an account of an adventure that happened to him as he was going to consult, under a borrowed name, the old astrologer La Brosse, the same of whom M. de Sully speaks so often in his Memoirs. "This good man, "says he, who was then in a little "tower or garret that served him

who, amidſt the greateſt dangers of war, had acquired the character of intrepid, ſhewed at his execution, have furniſhed matter for much diſcourſe, and doubtleſs will not be forgot by hiſtorians: as for me, I have nothing new to relate, except, perhaps, ſome circumſtances that regard me perſonally. 1602.

While preparations were making for trying the two ſtate priſoners, they often deſired to ſpeak with me*: two conſiderations hindered me from giving them this ſatisfaction; firſt, becauſe it would be to no purpoſe to hear the prayers and ſollicitations of

" for a ſtudy, ſaid to him, Well, " my ſon, I ſee the perſon for " whom this horoſcope is caſt will " arrive at great honours through " his diligence and military brave- " ry, and might come to be a king, " but there is a *caput algol* that " keeps him from it." " And " what is the meaning of that, ſays " the baron de Biron." " Don't " aſk me the meaning of it, re- " turns La Broſſe?" " No, ſays " the baron, but I muſt know." After many altercations between them, La Broſſe at length ſaid, " The meaning is this, my friend, " he will do ſo much that he ſhall " have his head cut off." Upon " this, the baron fell upon him " and beat him cruelly, and after- " wards leaving him half-dead, " came down from the garret, tak- " ing the key of the door with " him." This account is filled with other pretended predictions that were made him, and to which I think no man of ſenſe would have ſhewn any regard.

* He requeſted the ſieur de Baranton, M. de Praſlin's lieutenant, to wait on M. de Roſny from him, and tell him that he deſired to ſee him; but, if that favour could not be obtained, he earneſtly begged of him to intercede with the king for his life, a piece of ſervice which he expected from him, as he always had a great eſteem for him, and found him to be his friend, and ſuch a friend that, had he been perſuaded by him, he would not have been in the place where he then was; that there were perſons more guilty than himſelf, but that he was the moſt unfortunate of them all; that he was content to be confined between four bare walls and chained down. The earneſt entreaties which the ſieur de Baranton made in his name, ſo greatly affected M. de Roſny and his lady, the ſieur Zamet and others who were preſent, that they were unable to ſpeak for ſome time, and ſat liſtening in tears. At length M. de Roſny broke ſilence and ſaid, " I can- " not ſee him nor intercede for " him, it is now too late; had he " been perſuaded by me, he had " not been in this melancholy ſitu- " ation, for he ought to have de- " clared the truth to his majeſty " from the time of his arrival at " Fontainebleau; and ſince he did " not ſo, he has taken from the " king the means of giving him " his life, and from all his friends " that of interceding for him." Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1602. See the whole of this affair in the hiſtorian Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 482 to 534, where an account given of what relates to the duke de Sully is conformable to that in our Memoirs.

Biron,

1602. Biron, whoſe death was too neceſſary for the good of the ſtate, and too firmly reſolved by the king, to give hopes of obtaining his pardon: and, ſecondly, having been comprehended myſelf in La Fin's depoſitions, I was not willing to give either weak or malignant perſons room to ſuſpect that I had uſed any endeavours with the priſoners to keep them ſilent with regard to me, or that I had any occaſion to ſpeak to them. It was my deſign, on the other hand, that, if any ſuppoſed me to have had the leaſt connexion with Biron, they ſhould think that, by thus refuſing to ſee him, I ſhould make him reſolve to live no longer on terms of civility with a man whom, upon that ſuppoſition, he muſt, for many reaſons, regard as a traitor. He reverenced my innocence, and if he ſpoke of me, as he often did, it was only to praiſe the counſels I had given him, and condemn himſelf for not following them.

Deffunctis, grand-provoſt of the Iſle-de-France, took down in writing all the converſations in which marechal Biron had mentioned my name, and gave the manuſcript to me ſome time afterwards. By that I learned that Biron, when he came out of the chapel, where he had made his confeſſion to the ſieurs Garnier and Maignan doctors of the Sorbonne, aſked if there was no perſon there belonging to monſieur de Roſny; and being told that the younger Arnaud was there, he called him, and ſaid, "Monſieur Arnaud, I deſire you will carry my "laſt farewell to monſieur de Roſny, and tell him, "that to day he loſes one of his beſt friends, and "the moſt affectionate kinſman and ſervant he ever "had: I have always highly eſteemed his merit "and valued his friendſhip. Alas!" ſaid he, after raiſing his voice, and ſhedding ſome tears, which obliged him to keep his face covered with his handkerchief, "had I believed him, I ſhould have avoided this fate: tell him, I beſeech you, that I recommend my brothers to him, particularly my "bro-

" brother * Saint Blancard, who is his nephew, 1602.
" and that I entreat he will give my youngeſt bro-
" ther ſome poſt about the Dauphin, and that he
" would tell them, that, although I have failed in
" my duty and obedience, yet that they ought faith-
" fully to perform theirs, and continue always firm
" in their attachment to the king; but that he
" would not let them come immediately to court,
" leſt they ſhould ſuffer any reproaches on my ac-
" count." Another time Biron talking of me, ſaid, " The king has, in monſieur de Roſny, a faithful " ſervant, and a wiſe and prudent counſellor; his " majeſty has done well to make uſe of him; for " while he continues to direct his councils, France " will be happy, and I might have been ſo like-
" wiſe, had I governed myſelf by his advice." On any other occaſion I ſhould have avoided inſerting, in theſe Memoirs, ſuch diſcourſes in my praiſe; but on this I did not think myſelf at liberty to make the leaſt alteration in the marechal's words. I was ignorant of his having given theſe public teſtimonies of his eſteem for me, when I joined with the reſt of his relations † in imploring a favour for him, a ſlight one indeed, it was only to change the place deſtined for his execution; accordingly, inſtead of the Gréve, which was named in the ſentence that was paſſed upon him, his majeſty permitted the

* John de Gontaut, ſeigneur de Saint Blancard, had married mademoiſelle de Saint-Genniés, niece to M. de Sully. The marechal de Biron had no other brothers living; he muſt therefore comprehend under that name his brothers-in-law.

† Meſſieurs de Saint Blancard, de la Force, the count de Rouſſy, de Chateauneuf, de Thémines, de Salignac, and de Saint Angel, went three days after the arreſt of marechal de Biron, to throw themſelves at the feet of his majeſty, who was then at S. Maur des Foſſés, but they could obtain no other favour than that which our author ſpeaks of here. Henry comforted them, by reminding them of the example of the conſtable de Saint Paul, allied to the houſe of Bourbon, who was beheaded for a ſimilar crime, and the prince of Condé, who would have undergone the ſame fate had it not been for the death of Francis II. &c. MS. Biblioth. royale, vol. 9129. where likewiſe may be ſeen a collection of pieces relating to the marechal de Biron's proceſs.

marechal

1602. marechal to be beheaded in the court of the Baſtile.

The death of Biron entirely diſconcerted all the ſchemes of the cabal. Lavardin, who had been ſent at the ſame time by his majeſty into Burgundy, at the head of a body of troops, took poſſeſſion of all the places there which had been held by marechal Biron, without ſtriking a blow, and ſent Senecé to inform the king that this province had ſubmitted. The government of it was given to the dauphin, to whom M. Le Grand was made lieutenant. The proceedings againſt the conſpirators ſtopped here: and, except Fontenelles *, whom Henry thought it neceſſary to puniſh for an example to others, although he was not one of the principal criminals, he pardoned all the reſt. The number of the conſpirators was very great, and, upon examination, many of the moſt conſiderable courtiers † were involved in the guilt. I ſtrengthened as much as poſſible the king's inclinations to lenity: I forewarned thoſe whom I knew to have had ſome ſhare in the confidence of Biron, and repreſented to them ſo plainly, that all they had now to do was to throw themſelves at the king's feet, and implore his pardon, that almoſt all purſued this method: the ſecrecy which I promiſed them will not permit me to mention their names here, and, far from having any cauſe to repent of a ſtep, of which the king and myſelf only were witneſſes, they were ſoon convinced that his majeſty not only took care to ſhew

* Guy Eder de Beaumanoir, baron de Fontenelles, was a gentleman of Brittany. He was convicted of having intended to deliver up the fort of Douarnenès to the Spaniards, for which he was drawn upon a ſledge, and broke alive in the Gréve. "The king, "ſays M. de Pereſixe, in conſi-"deration of his family, which "was very illuſtrious, granted to "his relations that, in the arret, "he ſhould not be called by his "own name: but hiſtory could "not conceal it." M. de Thou, liv. 128, ſpeaks of him as of a fellow, who had been employed in Brittany by the league.

† According to Siri, there was ſomething more than mere ſuſpicions againſt the conſtable de Montmorency, and even againſt the duke de Montpenſier. Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 103.

he

he had no reſentment againſt them, but likewiſe appeared to hold them in higher eſteem than before. 1602.

Herbert, who was ſecretary to the party, and had been ſeveral times ſent into Milan, and throughout all Italy by marechal Biron, was likewiſe arreſted. I was ordered to interrogate him in the preſence of the count d'Auvergne, and to receive his depoſitions, the king having promiſed him a pardon, upon condition that he ſincerely declared all he knew. The principal diſcovery he made, and that which gave the fulleſt conviction of the perfidy of Spain, was, that Roncas and Alphonſo Cazal had been ſent by that court, at different times, with large ſums of money to marechal Biron. To convince Herbert that his majeſty had no deſign to deceive him, before I began to examine him, I delivered his pardon, ſigned by the king, into the hands of the count d'Auvergne.

The baron de Lux was not excepted out of the general amneſty; his perplexity, when he heard of the impriſonment of his friend, had been very great, becauſe he found it equally dangerous to leave, as to ſtay in, the kingdom; he was ſtill undetermined what to do, when La Plume came from his majeſty with an order to attend him, promiſing him his pardon, at the ſame time, if he would endeavour to deſerve it by his obedience and repentance. De Lux, ſenſible of his guilt, was now more alarmed than before; yet he told the meſſenger that he was ready to obey the king's orders, provided he would aſſure him that he ſhould not be expoſed to the ſhame of a public examination, nor be confronted with his accuſers; that he ſhould be continued in his poſt *, and permitted to retire from court after his confeſſion; he was afraid of being detained, under pretence that it was either not full enough or inſincere. There being no letter from his majeſty, De Lux appeared contented with a

* He was governor of the caſtle of Dijon, and the town of Beaune.

promiſe

1602. promiſe under my hand that he ſhould receive no harm.

The king having granted all that the baron De Lux demanded, he came to Paris, and meeting his majeſty as he was going to hunt, threw himſelf at his feet, and was beginning a long ſpeech, when the king, who had not leiſure to hear him then, ſtopped him ſhort, by ſaying, "Go to monſieur de "Roſny, and I will talk to you afterwards." This order, the tone with which De Lux fancied it was given, and the place to which he was ſent, raiſed ſuch apprehenſions in his mind, that he was upon the point of making his eſcape. However, he came to the arſenal, but under ſuch terrors, that, inſtead of liſtening to any thing I ſaid to him, he was continually looking round him, and his apprehenſions were increaſed when he ſaw his majeſty's guards enter and file off in the court of the arſenal, the king having ſent them thither, becauſe he intended to paſs by the arſenal in his return from the chace. De Lux now thought himſelf loſt. "Ah! monſieur, "ſaid he to me, I came hither upon the king's "word and yours; do you intend to detain me?" "Why do you aſk me this queſtion, monſieur, ſaid "I?" "The guards, ſaid he, which I perceive "entering in files, perſuaded me that it is not the "king who is coming, but that they are probably "ſent for me." Without giving me time to undeceive him, he entreated me to allow him to ſpeak to the king before he was confined, promiſing, and I believe very ſincerely, to conceal nothing from him. "I have obſerved your uneaſineſs, replied "I, but be not afraid, I have no orders to arreſt "you; ſpeak freely to the king, ſwear to be faith-"ful to him, and keep your oath, you will then "have nothing to apprehend; had the duke of Bi-"ron acted in that manner, he would have been "now alive." That moment a meſſenger informed me that the king was returned to the Louvre, and deſired to ſpeak with me: the evening was ſo far advanced

advanced before the chace was ended, that, inſtead of coming to the arſenal as he had propoſed, he went directly to the palace. This meſſage relieved the baron de Lux from his terrors. 1602.

The next day he had a conference with his majeſty, which laſted above four hours; he gave no cauſe for accuſing him of indiſcretion in concealing his accomplices, but named ſuch a prodigious number of perſons, that Henry, glad to find in ſuch general accuſations a pretence for believing none, and for making himſelf eaſy, treated all thoſe whom de Lux accuſed, and who were continually about him, no leſs favourably than before. It is certain, however, that many of them were acquainted with marechal Biron's deſigns, but the hope of remaining unnoticed amongſt the crowd, determined them not to own their connexions with him, notwithſtanding all the advances and promiſes which I made them. The conſtable had indeed kept up a ſort of intimacy with Biron, which in prudence ought to have been avoided; but, as I was perſuaded that it was merely perſonal, and extended no further, I thought myſelf obliged to juſtify him to his majeſty, on whom his aſſurances of fidelity made ſo little impreſſion, that he could not help regarding him with an eye of ſuſpicion: I may ſay with truth, that my endeavours did not a little contribute towards reſtoring him to the king's favour; and this prince had no reaſon to repent of his clemency; either to him or any of the other *, except only

* It is not certain that Henry the IVth never had reaſon to repent of this indulgence. As to the aſſaſſination of this prince, there remains a great many doubts, the clearing of which becomes more and more difficult: but by ſuppoſing what is very likely, namely, that the blow which took off Henry IV. did not proceed from the conſpiracy here ſpoken of, we may ſtill believe that this cataſtrophe had not happened, if the conſpirators had been proſecuted with more ſeverity: in this caſe it muſt be allowed, that Henry IV. and M. de Roſny were deceived by their too great lenity, of which the prince became the victim. What the author ſays four lines higher of thoſe who boldly concealed themſelves among the croud, ſufficiently ſhews, that the ſpirit of revolt was not extinguiſhed by the death of its head.

the

1602. the count of Auvergne, to whom it is time to return.

The nature of that crime which he, as well as the duke of Biron, had committed, and the equality of the proofs againſt them, made it highly probable that their puniſhment would be alike; however, their fates were very different; the king not only gave him his life, which he cauſed to be intimated to him by the conſtable, but alſo ſoftened, as much as poſſible the inconvenience of his impriſonment: he permitted him to agree with the lieutenant of the Baſtile for his table, diſcharged him of the expence of the officers and ſoldiers appointed for his guard, and reduced them afterwards to five, comprehending the exempt, upon my repreſentations that a greater number was uſeleſs. At firſt, indeed, he was not allowed to walk upon the terraſſes, but afterwards he was indulged in all his deſires; and at length wholly * diſcharged from his confinement. He had been ſo little accuſtomed to be treated as a criminal, that when he was told the king had granted him his life, he ſaid, it ſignified nothing, unleſs he gave him his liberty likewiſe.

Thoſe who praiſe alike the good or bad actions of kings, will not want arguments to juſtify Henry in this different treatment of two equally guilty; they will alledge, as it was then reported at court, that the ſervices his majeſty might expect from the count of Auvergne, in diſcovering to him the plots of the Spaniſh party againſt France, made it neceſſary to pardon him for his own intereſt For my own part, I am too candid not to confeſs, that on this occaſion the king gave no proof of his clemency, but of his paſſion for the marchioneſs of Verneuil, ſiſter to the count of Auvergne; which was the ſole cauſe of the indulgence he ſhewed to the count. However, I concealed my thoughts

* In the beginning of October. "It was not, ſays le Septennaire, "without having firſt made an open confeſſion to meſſieurs the chan- "cellor, de Sillery, and Roſny."

with

with great care, and, during two years, never mentioned a word to the king upon the ſubject, being perſuaded, that all the arguments I could uſe at the time would have no force againſt the prayers and tears of a miſtreſs; and when the thing was done, it was to no purpoſe to ſhew him his error. It was not till after the count of Auvergne had, by new inſtances of ingratitude, obliged his benefactor to proceed againſt him as a criminal, that I juſt hinted my thoughts of his former conduct, and then I was forced to it by the king himſelf. 1602.

One day, when the king and I were alone, the converſation turned upon this ſubject; and Henry, after viewing me ſilently for ſome time, at length told me, that he had been often greatly ſurprized at my not aſking him his reaſons for preſerving the count of Auvergne. I replied, that I had thought it my duty to keep my conjectures on that head to myſelf, among which there were two that appeared to me to be the moſt probable, but that I never choſe to explain myſelf to his majeſty for fear of offending him. Henry anſwered immediately, with his uſual vivacity, that he could eaſily gueſs, that one of the motives to which I attributed the favour he had ſhewn the priſoner, regarded the marchioneſs of Verneuil; and aſſured me, that that alone had been but ſufficient to have commuted his puniſhment into a perpetual impriſonment; but that he was abſolutely ignorant of the ſecond, to which I ſuppoſed his deliverance had been owing, and preſſed me repeatedly to tell him what it was. I confeſſed to him, that it had been always my opinion, that his majeſty would not inflict a ſhameful death upon a man who would be always conſidered as the uncle of his children, in caſe he ſhould have any by the marchioneſs of Verneuil. Henry ſwore to me, that he had not hitherto carried his reflections ſo far, although that conſideration, if it had occurred to him, would have had great weight with him; and he inſiſted upon my gueſſing, in my turn, the

1602. true reaſon that had induced him to ſet Auvergne at liberty: he again repeated to me, that the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, the intreaties of the conſtable, his three daughters, and of Ventadour, who had all thrown themſelves at his feet, had not had ſo great a ſhare in that reſolution as I imagined, they having contented themſelves with aſking only the life of the priſoner. And at length, after all this winding, he declared to me, that his chief inducement to pardon Auvergne was the great promiſes he made him, and the air of ſincerity with which they were accompanied: he then related to me all that had paſſed between himſelf and Auvergne, when the latter implored the favour of a conference with him: he told me, that the count, after many aſſurances of a ſincere repentance, and proteſtations of inviolable fidelity for the future, had promiſed him, with the moſt ſacred oaths, if he would reſtore him to liberty, to get him intelligence of the moſt ſecret reſolutions that were taken in the council of Spain; to accompliſh which, he had only to reſume, in appearance, his former engagements with that court, well knowing how to deceive them, and to make them take for true, what on his ſide would be only feigned: but that this diſſimulation might not, in Spain, draw upon him the puniſhment of a traitor, it was neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould not reveal to any of his miniſters what he then ſaid, nor take umbrage at his journeys to Spain, nor the packets he ſhould receive from thence.

The king, after this recital, added, that it was with difficulty he could bring himſelf to believe the promiſes Auvergne made him, or ſuppoſe that he could fall ſo low, as to take up the trade of a ſpy, and become a double traitor; but that after the count had aſſured him he really meant to perform all he had engaged for, although he hated him more than ever, yet he was determined to expect the effect of his promiſes, and make uſe of him to procure ſuch

intelligence concerning the proceedings of Spain, as he could obtain by no other means; and in this expectation, he had promiſed Auvergne ſecreſy, and the other condition he had demanded. 1602.

The concluſion I came to, from what the king told me, was, that he was every way deceived by the count of Auvergne, or rather, I repeat it again, betrayed by his paſſion for his miſtreſs; this was the faſcination that cloſed his eyes upon the artifice of Auvergne; and after having prevailed upon him to ſpare his life, ſnatched from him likewiſe the grant of his liberty, and that upon ſo ſlight a foundation, as does little honour to the prudence of Henry. It is not clear, indeed, whether Auvergne had not then an inclination to keep his word, but by ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced a ſecond time, became once more a traitor to his prince.

It muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, that he was ingenious, ſubtle, penetrating, and naturally eloquent; qualities very fit for the part he had undertaken to act: but, not to mention his ambition, his inclination to debauchery, and other dangerous paſſions, he had in his heart ſuch a fund of malice and perfidiouſneſs, that it was eaſy to ſee he would reſume his former diſpoſitions; but he reſumed them with ſo much addreſs, that the king did not perceive when it happened, taking it for granted, that it did not happen the very moment he found himſelf ſecure. He often conferred with his majeſty concerning the king of Spain, and related very bad things of him, the better to play his part; but all he ſaid might be reduced to matters of little conſequence; while to the court of Spain he gave very exact and very material informations of every thing that paſſed in France. I ſhall return to him again in another place.

The prince of Joinville*, to whom Henry likewiſe extended his clemency, was a young man of

* Claude de Lorraine, fourth ſon to Henry duke of Guiſe, who was killed at Blois; he was afterwards duke de Chevreuſe, and died in 1657.

1602. a different character; nothing could be more light, more whimſical, and more unſteady; he had engaged himſelf with bad company, among whom, to be in the faſhion, and to appear a man of conſequence, it was neceſſary that he ſhould have correſpondences without the kingdom; this was ſufficient to ruin him entirely. His majeſty being informed that he carried on his intrigues with Spain by the count of Chamnite, governor of Franche-Comté for the king of Spain, and one of his miniſters, he ordered him to be arreſted: as ſoon as he found himſelf in cuſtody, he, like all the others, declared, that he was ready to make a full confeſſion, provided that it was to the king in perſon, and that I ſhould be preſent. I had left Paris in the evening, to viſit my new acquiſition of Sully, and to trace out the plan of ſome buildings there, to render it more habitable than it was at preſent. I was juſt arrived, and preparing to ſit down to ſupper, when I heard his majeſty's poſtilion blow his horn, and immediately ſuſpected my ſtay at Sully would not be long. He gave me a billet from the king, which contained only an order to come to him, without explaining himſelf any farther. Believing the buſineſs to be of the utmoſt importance, I ſet out ſo early the next morning, that I only ſaw Sully by the light of the flambeaux. When I was made acquainted with the affair, I thought it my duty to intercede for an unexperienced youth, who was drawn into errors by his raſhneſs and folly. Joinville being brought before us, confeſſed all he was deſired to do. The king entering immediately into his character, treated him as he deſerved; he ſent for his mother, the ducheſs of Guiſe, and the duke his brother, and taking them into his cloſet. "Here, "ſaid he, is the prodigal ſon himſelf: I ſhall uſe "him like a child, and pardon him for yours and "monſieur de Roſny's ſake, who has entreated for "him; but I do it upon condition that you will

" all three reprove him ſeverely, and that you, 1602.
" nephew," added he, turning to the duke of Guiſe,
" will anſwer for his conduct for the future: I give
" him to your care, make him wiſe, if it be poſ-
" ſible."

This change was not ſo eaſy a thing to effect on a young man of lively paſſions, incapable of inſtruction, and whoſe diſpoſition had already taken its bent: he was ſuffered to remain in priſon for ſome months, where at firſt he was obſtinately ſullen, then inſolent and furious, and at laſt, through mere wearineſs, promiſed to behave well, if he was taken from thence. The king conſented to his removal, and he was told, that he might go and live in the caſtle of Dampierre. Joinville was not much better pleaſed with this place than his priſon, and repreſented to the king, that he could not reſide in a caſtle which was not furniſhed. Unfortunately for him, the king knew this to be a falſhood: having often hunted near that caſtle and Chevreuſe, which is but at a ſmall diſtance from it, the keeper of thoſe two houſes had offered to accommodate him with apartments and beds there; and he had been told by the ducheſs of Guiſe, that Dampierre was as well furniſhed as Chevreuſe. This behaviour of Joinville's ſo incenſed the king againſt him, that he reproached me for the too great intereſt I took in the affairs of that family, and ordered me to concern myſelf leſs with them for the future. And now his majeſty, inſtead of revoking his ſentence, declared that the priſoner ſhould be again examined before he was enlarged; which renewing his former fears, he promiſed to make a fuller confeſſion than he had yet done; but being, as he ſaid, apprehenſive that his majeſty was ſtill angry with him, he again entreated that I might be the perſon to whom he ſpoke.

The duke of Bouillon took care not to return from his eſtates, as he had promiſed the king; therefore, after Biron was arreſted, his majeſty judg-

1602. ed it neceſſary to write to him, to ſee if upon this occaſion he would not give ſome proof of his connexion with the priſoner: he informed him, that marechal Biron had been convicted of conſpiring againſt the ſtate; and that when he came to court, he would ſhew him the proofs of his treaſon, and acquaint him with all the particulars of it; ſatisfying himſelf with thus inſinuating that he expected the performance of his promiſe, without giving him a direct order to come. The duke of Bouillon eaſily comprehended the deſign of this letter, and anſwered it no otherwiſe, than by ſending a gentleman of his retinue immediately to his majeſty, to congratulate him upon the danger he had eſcaped. By this perſon he ſent a letter to me, in which he carefully avoided ſaying any thing from which the leaſt advantage could be taken, either becauſe he had already learnt that his aſſociate was ſeized, or that his imagination ſuggeſted to him immediately the behaviour which it was proper for him to aſſume. He told me, that never had any one's aſtoniſhment equalled his, when he learned that the ſtate and the king's perſon had been in danger; that his fidelity, and the readineſs he ſhewed to go to every place where his duty and the king's ſervice called him, would, he hoped, convince his majeſty, that he ſhould never have the like reaſon to be apprehenſive of him; and that he would expect the king's orders, and my good advice, that he might obey the one, and follow the other. The whole letter was conceived in terms ſuch as theſe: he could not, however, hinder himſelf from hinting ſomething in favour of the accuſed, but in a manner ſo general as could not hurt him. After expreſſing his wiſhes, that this event might not give his majeſty any diſturbance, he added theſe words, " nor alter the natural ſweet-" neſs of his diſpoſition."

The king, when I ſhewed him this letter, thought he might make uſe of it to draw Bouillon to court, for he durſt not ſend him an abſolute command to come,

come, leſt by a refuſal he ſhould lay him under the neceſſity of puniſhing him for his diſobedience by the force of arms, which he neither choſe nor could conveniently do; he therefore told me, that ſince Bouillon aſked my advice concerning what it was proper for him to do in this conjuncture, I ſhould reply, that it was true, the king had been informed he was not wholly unacquainted with the duke of Biron's intrigues, but that this ought to ſtrengthen his reſolution of coming to his majeſty, either to juſtify his innocence, or by confeſſing his fault, to obtain a pardon for it; and that I ſhould aſſure him, that I would give him my word, or if neceſſary become his ſurety, that ſo far from having any thing to fear, he ſhould be received by the king with open arms. Henry knowing my delicacy on theſe occaſions prevented my ſcruples, by telling me, that he would engage his royal word that Bouillon ſhould be treated in whatever manner I promiſed him; and not ſatisfied with this verbal aſſurance, he gave me a writing conceived in theſe terms: "I promiſe to "M. de Roſny, that if the duke of Bouillon comes "to court upon his letters, and the promiſes he "ſhall make him, I will obſerve them all faithfully, or give the duke free leave to retire wherever he pleaſes; and neither in his journey to or "from the court ſhall he receive any diſturbance: "for all which I engage my faith and royal word "to the ſaid ſieur de Roſny. Given at Paris, June "24, 1602." 1602.

I wrote to the duke of Bouillon, and without telling him of the engagement his majeſty entered into with me concerning him, preſſed him in the ſtrongeſt terms, and by every argument I thought could have any weight with him, to come and ſettle for ſome time at court. This letter Bouillon received almoſt at the ſame time with the verbal anſwer the king ſent him by his deputy, and took occaſion, from his majeſty's not having himſelf preſſed him to come, to tell me in anſwer, that the ad-

1602. vice I gave him being inconſiſtent with the king's orders, he could not govern himſelf by it, whatever inclination he might have to do ſo; and that he would content himſelf with ſending to court, as his majeſty required, a perſon who ſhould give as ſatisfactory an account of his conduct as he himſelf could do, and ought to be equally depended upon. This perſon was a gentleman named Rignac, who accordingly came to court about the ſame time that I received Bouillon's anſwer to my letter, and whoſe expences were all defrayed, as if his journey had been of great importance, becauſe, in appearance, he came by his majeſty's orders: but the duke of Bouillon, inſtead of coming himſelf, removed ſtill farther from court, and went to Caſtres.

I am not ſurpriſed that my arguments had, on this occaſion, ſo little weight with him, ſince he regarded me as his enemy, and did not ſcruple to call me ſo in public; nor was the king ignorant that this was his opinion, having informed me of it himſelf in a letter dated the 28th day of December this year: nor was I more ſurprized at the manner in which the duke of Bouillon acted with his majeſty. As ſoon as he perceived (which was no very difficult matter for him to do) that the king had recourſe to diſſimulation with him, he ſuppoſed it eaſy enough to impoſe upon his majeſty and his council without riſking any danger; for this purpoſe, all that was neceſſary was, to anſwer, in * appearance, always with great ſubmiſſion, without taking any of thoſe meaſures, which they durſt not formally preſcribe to him. This artifice ſucceeded ſo well, that he made uſe of it a long time. Nothing could be conceived in more modeſt or re-

* The duke de Bouillon's letters to the king we find in the 3d tom. of Villeroi's Memoirs d'Etat, p. 158, & ſeq. See likewiſe the reaſons which the hiſtorians of his life adduced, to clear him of the accuſation of having been concerned in marechal de Biron's plot, his refuſing to come and wait upon the king, and his flight to Caſtres. Liv. v. p. 222, & ſeq.

ſpectful

ſpectful terms, than the letter he wrote on this ſubject to Du-Maurier; and which, after his majeſty had peruſed it, was given to me to be communicated to the chancellor and the duke d'Epernon, with whom, by the king's orders, I treated this affair methodically. The king ſtrongly intereſted himſelf in it, and had a conference with Conſtant and Saint-Aubin about the duke of Bouillon, which laſted a whole afternoon, but it produced nothing. 1602.

The game which upon this occaſion was played by the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy was ſtill more uncommon. All the foreign powers in alliance with Henry, more eſpecially England and Scotland, whoſe ambaſſadors were ſtill at Paris, congratulated his majeſty, upon his having ſo happily cruſhed this dangerous conſpiracy. Philip and Charles-Emanuel appeared more eager than any of the others to compliment the king upon this event: unleſs fear was their motive, it is not eaſy to gueſs what could oblige them to have recourſe to ſo groſs an artifice. Henry was more ſincere with them; he ſignified to them, that he was well informed of the part they both had in the plot; all the blame of which they threw upon the count of Fuentes, as boldly, as if it had been poſſible to have perſuaded him that this Spaniard would have dared, without their permiſſion, to act in concert with Biron and the other conſpirators.

The king, ſome days after the execution of marechal Biron, coming to the arſenal, I had a converſation with this prince that well deſerves to be related: "You ſee," ſaid he to me, after making ſome reflections, as uſual, upon the ingratitude of meſſieurs de Biron, d'Auvergne, de Bouillon, and three more of the moſt conſiderable noblemen of the court, whom he had pardoned, and whoſe names he mentioned, "you ſee that thoſe on whom "I have beſtowed the greateſt favours, are the "ſame perſons by whoſe ambition and caprice I "have ſuffered the moſt." He then obſerved to me,

1602. me, that these six men had, at different times, received larger sums from him, than the five kings his predecessors, except Henry III. who had been accused of such great prodigality, had given to their favourites. Henry added, that to silence those who always unreasonably enumerated the services of these six gentlemen, he would have me draw up a memorial of all the rewards they had received from him since they had entered into his service; in which he did not pretend to include any thing but those presents that his liberality only had induced him to make them, and not such possessions as they had acquired by his assistance, and enjoyed through his protection; such, for example, was the principality of Sedan, for which Bouillon was doubly obliged to him, having first procured, and then secured him the possession of it, as has been seen, on an occasion sufficiently perplexing.

The king, whose sole view in entering upon this subject was to make a particular application to me, told me, that by this discourse, which might have some relation to the present state of my fortune, he had no intention to give me a lesson, being too well persuaded of my fidelity to think there was any occasion for it; but that having seriously reflected upon the manner in which it was necessary he should behave to me, that he might not expose himself to the mortification of seeing the confidence he had in me lessened, he thought prudence required that he should take two precautions, with respect to me, in the rewards my services and family deserved from him: "One of these precautions, said the king, "has a reference to the world, the other to my- "self: first, that these rewards should neither suc- "ceed each other so rapidly, nor in themselves be "so excessive, as to render you the object of pub- "lic hatred, always ready to break out against "first ministers: and the second, that these estates "and these honours should be of such a nature, as, "if it should happen that through religion, or any "other

" other motive, you ſhould be capable of violat- 1602.
" ing your duty, they may not put you into a con-
" dition of giving any umbrage to your benefactor
" himſelf, or, after his death, of diſturbing the
" tranquility of his ſucceſſor, or of putting the
" ſtate in danger: in one word," ſaid this prince, after giving me to underſtand, that as he ſpoke without any diſguiſe, he would permit me to tell him my ſentiments freely likewiſe, " I would take from
" myſelf the leaſt occaſion of ſuſpicion againſt you,
" that my friendſhip for you may continue unalter-
" able. I daily experience ſo many inſtances of
" ingratitude, which I never expected, that, contra-
" ry to my inclinations, I am obliged to be diſtruſt-
" ful. Do not imagine, therefore, that I will put
" you in poſſeſſion of great cities and ſtrong for-
" treſſes, which, in the high credit you are in, and
" the great abilities you are maſter of, might make
" you independent of me, and enable you, when-
" ever you pleaſed, to throw the kingdom into con-
" fuſion. I cannot do more for you than ought to
" be done for a ſervant, however faithful he may
" be, by a prince who has his honour, his repu-
" tation, and the intereſt of his people at heart."

Henry, without giving me time to reply, added, that till proper opportunities offered for completing my fortune, he, from this moment, would join to my ſalaries and penſions, which were but ſufficient to anſwer the expences of my table and houſe, an extraordinary gratuity of ſixty thouſand livres a year; that by uniting this ſum to my own eſtate I might purchaſe more lands, build upon them, furniſh and embelliſh my new houſes, and more advantageouſly ſettle my children; telling me graciouſly, that he ſtill reſerved to himſelf to give me other proofs of his friendſhip and liberality: " And this, purſued
" he, I ſhall do with the more willingneſs, as I am
" aſſured you will not ſquander theſe ſums fooliſh-
" ly on entertainments, dogs, horſes, birds, and
" miſtreſſes."

During

1602. During this long diſcourſe of Henry's, my mind was agitated with various thoughts, which made me liſten to him in ſilence; the reflections it occaſioned left me ſtill more moved with his freedom, and the confidence he repoſed in me, than diſcontented with a caution which many others, in my ſituation, would have thought exceſſive. The king having commanded me to be very ſincere in my reply, I told him, that although I had at this moment an abſolute certainty in my own mind, that neither his majeſty, nor his ſucceſſors, nor the ſtate, ſhould ever have any cauſe for thoſe apprehenſions of me which his wiſdom had ſuggeſted, yet I myſelf did not think he carried it too far; it being, in my opinion, one of the chief maxims of government, that a prince ought never to deliver himſelf up blindly to one perſon, whatever ſervices he may have received from him, ſince it is next to impoſſible that any one ſhould be able to anſwer for the wiſdom and juſtneſs of his counſels for the future: therefore, inſtead of thinking myſelf injured, I found cauſe, in all his majeſty had ſaid, to admire his prudence, and to acknowledge his goodneſs, ſince whatever bounds he ſhould preſcribe to his favours, they would always equally exceed my expectations and my ſervices.

As I could not doubt but that the malignant inſinuations of the courtiers, who were jealous of my favour with his majeſty, had ſome ſhare in thoſe fears he expreſſed of me, I ſeized this opportunity to explain myſelf on an article, which from this moment I foreſaw I ſhould be under a neceſſity of returning to more than once. I begged his majeſty would permit me to repreſent to him, that he ought not to give faith to the poiſonous reports of informers, without having firſt had good proofs of my crime, and given me an opportunity of defending myſelf. I aſſured him, that he would find me ſincere enough to confeſs my faults, which alone deſerved that he ſhould treat me in this manner; and that

that he ſhould be convinced that what my enemies imputed to criminal views, could but at moſt amount to a failing, which I would not ſcruple to confeſs that inſtant, and for which I had ſome occaſion for his indulgence; and this was, that, thro' impatience of any obſtacle or delay in any reſolution that I judged neceſſary to be taken, ſome words of complaint or anger might eſcape me againſt the too eaſy diſpoſition of his majeſty, of which my enemies would not fail to take advantage, although the purity of my intentions might be eaſily perceived in the words themſelves, which ſerved for a foundation for the calumny. 1602.

What I then ſaid to the king I now repeat to my readers, and not through an affectation of modeſty, which may hold the place of juſtification; I am conſcious I have no occaſion for it; but becauſe that, however irreproachable my conduct may have been, I have, nevertheleſs, been more than once obliged to clear myſelf to the prince whom I ſerved: if this confeſſion does not hinder them from denying me that juſtice I have merited, it will not make them judge leſs favourably of Henry, if they attend to the conjunctures and maxims of the times in which we both lived: and at all times, there is nothing againſt which it is ſo difficult to defend one's ſelf, as the ſecret machinations of envious courtiers; what effect might they not be expected to produce in the mind of a prince, who could collect a thouſand examples of treachery, diſloyalty, and diſobedience to himſelf, and hardly one of real attachment? To judge clearly of the ſentiments which Henry entertained for me, we muſt not conſider him in thoſe moments when the remembrance of ſo many inſtances of ingratitude, awakened by the moſt artful impoſtures, opened his heart in ſpite of him to diſtruſt and ſuſpicion; but, when recovered from thoſe impreſſions which the plots they endeavoured to comprehend me in had made on his mind, he gave me the ſincereſt proofs of his tenderneſs, and eſteem.

The

1602. The world therefore may judge as it pleaſes of thoſe little diſgraces which I have been obliged to ſuſtain during the courſe of what will be called my glory and proſperity, and which probably any other might have ſuppreſſed, for the honour of having it ſaid, that he directed as he pleaſed the inclinations of his maſter; on this ſubject I ſhall uſe neither diſguiſe nor concealment, for truth is my guide, and inſtruction is my end.

The duke of Luxembourg having had a a cauſe brought before the parliament this year, the advocates that pleaded for him had the aſſurance to exact fifteen hundred crowns for their fees. The duke complained of this extortion to the king, who ordered the parliament to iſſue out an arret, by which the lawyers fees were reduced and ſettled, and they obliged to give receipts for all the money they received, and a general receipt for what papers were put into their hands, that they might be conſtrained to deliver up theſe, which they generally kept till their demands were ſatisfied. The neceſſity of putting a curb to the avarice of theſe people had always appeared ſo ſtrong, that the States had already given the ſame orders *, but to no purpoſe. The parliament granted the arret that was demanded of them, but the lawyers, inſtead of ſubmitting to it, went, three or four hundred of them, to return into the public regiſter the enſigns of their office, which produced a total ceſſation of law proceedings. There was almoſt a general murmur throughout Paris, particularly among pragmatical coxcombs and badauds †, a ſet of wretches with which the town is crowded, who taking upon them to be wiſer than the king, the peers, and the ſtates of the kingdom, decided againſt them in favour of the advocates ‡, and found ſome abettors, even at court,

* Ordonnance de Blois, art. 162.

† Such as are ſtyled cockneys at London.

‡ Matthieu, in relating this incident, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 478. ſeems, in like manner, to take the part of the advocates, and yet, for

who

who with ſo much power and art exaggerated an evil, petty in itſelf and eaſily remedied, that the king was ſtunned with their clamours, and began to be in pain about the conſequence. 1602.

While this affair was yet in agitation, his majeſty being one day in his cloſet converſing with ſome of the courtiers, and relating the continual ſolicitations that were made him in favour of the advocates, "Faith, Sire, I am not ſurpriſed at it," ſaid Sigogne, raiſing his voice, and aſſuming the air of one in a violent paſſion; "theſe men make it "plainly appear that they know not how to employ "their time, ſince they diſturb themſelves ſo much "about a trifle: to hear their exclamations, one "would think the ſtate, without theſe bawlers, "would be ruined; as if the kingdom under "Charlemagne, and ſo many other great kings, "during whoſe reigns neither advocates nor attor-"nies were heard of, was not in as flouriſhing a "condition as it is at preſent when we are de-"voured by theſe vermin." Sigogne afterwards, to prove that the eſtabliſhment of advocates in France was not very ancient, produced the regiſter of the chancery, of which the firſt paper is intitled, *A permiſſion to plead cauſes by an advocate*; and, perceiving that he was liſtened to with pleaſure, he added, that this ſcience was eſtabliſhed to the ruin of the nobility and the people, and the deſtruction of trade and agriculture. "There is not, ſaid he, any ar-"tiſt, or even any ſimple labourer, that is not of "more uſe to the community, than this ſwarm of "men, who enrich themſelves by our follies, and "the artifices they have invented to ſtifle truth, "throw down all right, and darken reaſon. If we "are ſo blind," continued he, with a vivacity truly

all this, every good man muſt be of the duke of Sully's opinion. In the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, he propoſes the means of conſiderably diminiſhing the number of proceſſes; and 'tis for this that endeavours ought, indeed, to be chiefly uſed for buſineſs, to remedy the abuſes of which he complains.

diverting

1602. diverting, " that we will not, and ſo unhappy that " we cannot, do without them, nothing remains to " be done but to command them to reſume the ex- " erciſe of their employment within eight days at " fartheſt, upon the conditions preſcribed by the " court, upon pain of being obliged to return " to the ſhop or the plough which they have " quitted, or elſe to ſerve the ſtate in Flanders, " with a muſquet upon their ſhoulders. I'll an- " ſwer for it, if this method be taken with them, " we ſhall ſoon ſee them run with eagerneſs to re- " ſume theſe magnificent enſigns, like vermin to- " wards a heap of wheat."

There was not one in the company who could forbear ſmiling at this lively ſally of Sigogne's, and the king was among the firſt, and confeſſed that his arguments were very convincing: but whether it was that he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the ſolicitations * that were made him, or alarmed by the fears of the conſequences that might attend his joining this new diſorder to thoſe troubles by which the kingdom was then agitated, or that, as he afterwards declared, he had reſerved to himſelf the making one day ſuch a general regulation in this affair, that not only the advocates, but the attorneys and the whole body of the law ſhould be comprehended in it, he conſented that the arret ſhould, for this time, continue without effect: and thus was this ludicrous buſineſs terminated; for reflexions upon which, I refer the reader to Sigogne's own words:

* The medium made uſe of by the king's people, who underhand favoured the advocates in this affair, was, that the king ſhould ſend newletters to the parliament, whereby the advocates were ordered to reſume and continue their functions, on condition, however, of obeying the arrets of parliament, and the ordinances of the ſtates. But, as theſe letters did at the ſame time allow them to make ſuch remonſtrances as they ſhould think reaſonable, with regard to the exerciſe of their ſeveral employments, and as they were particularly aſſured that they might act as before, they had no difficulty to ſubmit thereto. De Thou, liv. cxxviii. Sept. an. 1602.

ſo

ſo the world was left to think that it was I who made him ſpeak them *. 1602.

This naturally leads me to take notice of the great law-ſuit commenced this year by the third eſtate of Dauphiné, againſt the clergy and nobility, upon the manner in which the taxes were ſettled and aſſized in this province: myſelf, together with thirteen other commiſſioners, choſen amongſt perſons of the higheſt diſtinction in the kingdom, were named to take cognizance of it; but it was ſix years before it could be decided; the animoſity between the parties concerned was ſo great, that there was a neceſſity for ſending a ſecond time to take information upon the ſpot. I took a more ſpeedy method to bring a man, named Jouſſeaume, to juſtice; he had been a receiver-general in the revenue, and, becoming a bankrupt, had carried off a great deal of the royal money. I cauſed him to be ſeized at Milan, whither he had retired, and he was hanged on a gibbet. All crimes that draw along with them the ruin of a multitude of families, cannot be too ſeverely puniſhed. The king again ſhewed himſelf ſolicitous for the intereſt of his finances, in the affair of the receivers and treaſurers-general of Burgundy: ſome draughts had been made on them for the charges

* Le Journal d'Henry IV. relates a little piece of hiſtory which I ſhall ſet down here. Henry one time hunting on the ſide of Groſbois, dropt his company, as he frequently did, and came by himſelf to Chereil, which is a league on the other ſide of the bridge of Charenton, and that at noon-day, and as hungry as a hunter. Going into an inn, he enquired of the landlady if ſhe had any thing for him to eat, to which ſhe anſwered No, and that he was come too late, taking him only for a private gentleman. Henry then aſked her, for whom is this roaſt-meat I ſee at the fire? For ſome gentlemen, replies ſhe, that are above, and whom I take to be ſolicitors. The king ſent in a civil manner, to aſk them to let him have a piece of their roaſt-meat, or to give him leave to ſit at one end of their table upon paying for it; both which they refuſed him. Upon this, Henry ſent privately for Vitry, and eight or ten more of his attendants, whom he ordered to ſeize theſe ſolicitors, and carry them away to Groſbois to have them well whipped, to teach them more complaiſance to gentlemen another time. "This the ſaid ſieur Vitry ſaw "punctually and ſpeedily perform-"ed, ſays the author, notwith-"ſtanding all the arguments, en-"treaties, and remonſtrances of "the lawyers."

1602. of garriſons and works of fortifications, which they had not paid, either through negligence, or with a bad deſign. I adviſed his majeſty to ſend thither a commiſſary on whoſe probity he could depend; he did ſo, and he began by ſuſpending thoſe men from their employments, and himſelf performed the duties of treaſurer. The money that was expended upon this occaſion was raiſed out of the ſalaries of theſe receivers and treaſurers, "That I, "ſaid Henry, may not pay the penalty for the fault "they have committed againſt my ſervice and their "duty."

To prevent the exportation of gold and ſilver coin I found a method leſs tedious and ſevere than puniſhments and confiſcations, which was only to raiſe their value *, there being no reaſon why they

* The crown called écu d'or au ſoleil, which was valued at ſixty ſols tournois, was raiſed to ſixty-five; that called écu piſtolet of fifty-eight ſols, to ſixty-two, and ſo of the other gold ſpecies: the ſilver franc of twenty ſols was raiſed one ſol and four deniers, and the reſt in proportion. It was in the month of September that this double ordonnance paſſed, about the raiſing the value of money, and the reeſtabliſhing of reckoning by livres; for the reckoning by crowns had only taken place about twenty-five years before, that is, ſince the ordonnance of 1577, which had abrogated the reckoning by livres. Matthieu very highly approves of both theſe regulations of the duke of Sully's, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 540. Le Blanc, on the contrary, ſays, p. 351, 372, & ſeq. that, whatever cogent reaſons they might have had for abrogating this famous ordonnance of 1577, it was very ill done, either with regard to the money itſelf, becauſe the gold and ſilver ſpecies were afterwards raiſed as much in ſeven years alone, as they had been during the ſpace of ſeventy-five years before; or with regard to commerce, becauſe that goods and merchandiſe were proportionably enhanced in their prices. The opinion of this laſt writer ſeems, to me, to be grounded upon ſtronger reaſons. The reckoning by crowns had been in favour of thoſe who had their revenues in ſilver, thoſe who improved their money in the public funds and otherwiſe, and thoſe who ſold goods upon credit payable at a certain time: the ordonnance of 1577 ſecured the effects of a conſiderable number of the natives; and beſides, if there had been any confuſion found in the coin, this neither was, nor could be, the cauſe of it, but only the miſerable condition into which the civil wars had reduced France. The duke of Sully projected theſe two regulations here ſpoken of, to prevent theſe diſorders, which were, according to him, the too great plenty of foreign ſpecies, that, in commerce, occupied the place of our own; ſecondly, the enhancement of the price of merchants goods; and, laſtly, the exportation of the gold and ſilver coin to our neighbours. It was equally eaſy to have made him ſenſible, that his

ſhould

ſhould be carried out of the kingdom, but that they would paſs for more in the neighbouring countries than at home. At the ſame time, I ſettled, over all the kingdom, the way of reckoning by livres, 1602.

complaints, in all theſe reſpects, ſignified nothing, any more than the remedy which he applied to them. We have already ſhewn, a little higher, in what ſenſe it is that this quantity of foreign coin, which abounds in our commerce, is an advantage; and if it could be called an evil, the augmentation of the nominal value of coin, to wit, in reckonings, to which he has recourſe, would be more proper to heighten than leſſen it.

As to the raiſing of the price of goods, the ſame augmentation could not but make way for it ſtill more; and the reaſon for obviating it, which he draws from the computation by livres, will appear, to every one, very inſufficient, and even frivolous. Moreover, it appears to me, that the enhancing of the price of goods follows as a neceſſary conſequence and effect of the multiplication of gold and ſilver in Europe, ſince the diſcovery of America. In order to prevent it, we muſt have prohibited all commerce, not only with Spain, whoſe mines furniſh us now with theſe metals, but alſo with all our own neighbours, among whom they circulate as well as among us. A ſtate that ſhould be conducted by this principle, would, among the other ſtates of Europe, make the ſame figure, as the republic of Lacedemon did with reſpect to the reſt of Greece. The only thing to be attended to, and which is of very great conſeqeunce, is, that all the merchandiſe and goods, and generally whatever conſtitutes a part of commerce, ſhould riſe at the ſame time and in the ſame proportion in value. If the production of manufactures be enhanced without raiſing the price of corn, for example, then agriculture is neglected. If the wages of journeymen be not proportioned to the one and the other, thoſe people can no longer live and pay the taxes. As to the exporting of coin out of the kingdom, which ſeems to have been the chief view of the duke of Sully, it is true, that the augmentation of its current value in reckoning might, in ſome meaſure, prevent it, in annihilating or diminiſhing the profit of the dealers in bullion; and, apparently, this was the only reaſon that determined him. The narrow views of his age, with regard to the finances, and ſtill more as to commerce, did not allow him to ſee that he deſtroyed a ſlight corruption by one a great deal more conſiderable, nor ſuffer him to go up to the ſource of the evil: he would have perceived that the advantage of commerce, and conſequently the greateſt quantity of gold and ſilver, will remain in that nation which ſhall have made all others depend moſt upon them for riches, either natural or acquired; and that as long as the balance of trade ſhall be in favour of ſome one neighbouring nation, this prohibition of exporting gold and ſilver, is neither reaſonable nor practicable. At preſent, when we begin to ſee a little more clearly into theſe matters, there is no one but agrees, that all theſe regulations, and this whole train of reaſoning, did not reach the end propoſed. Though the exigency of circumſtances, which is almoſt endleſs, does not permit either the providing againſt, or the ſubjecting every thing to a ſingle rule, we may, however, aver, that on the article of money and commerce, there are two general and very ſimple maxims which may be looked upon as ivariable; and theſe are, to avoid, with the greateſt care imaginable, meddling with the coin,

1602. inſtead of crowns, as had been till then the practice: by ſome this may be thought an uſeleſs refinement, ſince all the ways of reckoning muſt come to the ſame thing at laſt: I am, however, of opinion, ex-

and endeavour continually to render the French as laborious, induſtrious, and frugal as poſſible. The frequent variations in the coin give mortal wounds both to domeſtic and foreign trade, by the extinction of credit, the ſhutting up of private purſes, the embarraſſment and diſadvantage of exchange, and the ruin of eſtates: all this is palpable and obvious. To this we may add, that the king, who appears to be the only one who gains by ſuch proceedings, to put the caſe impartially, always loſes conſiderably more thereby than he gains; beſides, that the inſolvency of his ſubjects is an evil which he always ſhares with them, and even feels much longer than they do; all his expences increaſe with the coin, ſo as not to be diminiſhed even when that does.

The other principle has ſtill leſs need of proof. It ſeems, that nature has reſerved to France the ſovereignty of trade, from the advantage of her ſituation, and the goodneſs of her ſoil, which obliges a great part of her neighbours to have recourſe to her, for all thoſe things that ſupply the firſt and eſſential neceſſaries of life: ſhe has no more to do than to ſhare, at leaſt equally with them, in the commerce of all thoſe things that ſerve but for mere conveniency, or which luxury has introduced into Europe. If the conſumption of the latter ſhould exceed the produce of the former, we ſhall complain unjuſtly of our condition; for to pretend to hinder the exportation of our materials of gold and ſilver to foreigners, when it is we that are indebted to theſe foreigners, is endeavouring to make the effect ceaſe, without removing the cauſe; but to ſet a Frenchman to commerce that is carried on by ſea, to manufactures and arts, to hinder him as much as poſſible from expending too much on things that come from abroad, and which are but ſuperfluities, and, on the other hand, to increaſe his proper riches, by encouraging the cultivation of his lands; this is what we may truly call promoting the intereſt of trade. Beſides Le Blanc and Matthieu, conſult on the ſubject of this note De Thou, liv. cxxix. Le Grain, liv. viii. Perefixe, and other writers of that time, in order to find out the hiſtory of theſe regulations of the finances and commerce; for in reality the reaſonings of theſe writers on this whole matter are but little ſatisfactory: we might well ſay of them what the duke of Sully ſaid of the parliament of Paris, "They are maſters of arts "which none of them know any "thing of." Memoirs pour l'hiſt. de France.

As M. de Sully treats no more of money, I will ſupply that part from the ſame memoirs, tom. II. p. 275, & ſeq. Tho' this writer ſeems not even to underſtand the ſtate of the queſtion, and ſpeaks not very favourably of the king and his miniſters. "At that time," ſays he, ſpeaking of all the deliberations which were entered into upon this ſubject in 1609, "there was "brought upon the carpet, and "propoſed to the council, a new "edict for the coin, which they "wanted to diminiſh and alter, "that is, to raiſe its value, and "by the ſame means to ruin the "people. Every one murmured "at this propoſal: the king alone "finding his account in it, laughed "at it, and at all the world, even "at his own miniſters, and their "remonſtrances, as he did at the "firſt preſident of the mint (Wil-

perience

perience having ſhewn me, that the cuſtom of talking always of crowns, for want of a denomination of a money more convenient for petty traffic, had imperceptibly raiſed all that was bought or ſold to more than its real value. 1602.

The intereſt of commerce was ſtill more concerned in the news the king received from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, that thoſe who had been employed to ſeek for mines, had diſcovered a great number of * gold and ſilver ones. This report was ſpread

" liamLe-Clerc)who being diſcon-
" certed in his ſpeech, having been
" twice interrupted by his majeſty's
" breaking into a fit of laughter,
" which made him ſtop ſhort in
" the middle thereof; and upon
" his majeſty's obſerving it, he
" ſays to him, Go on, Mr. Preſi-
" dent, for I am not laughing at
" you, but at my couſin, the count
" of Soiſſons, who is near me, and
" tells me, that he ſmells a ſhoul-
" der of mutton. This ſecond
" ſtroke ſtruck him quite dumb.
" Upon which, the king falling
" into a fit of laughter, went away
" and left him. A native of Peri-
" gord, who was one of the prin-
" cipal perſons that had communi-
" cated this project of the edict
" to the king, preſſed much for its
" being put in execution. The
" king, who very well knew the
" iniquity of the edict, ſeeing him-
" ſelf continually teaſed by this
" rude contractor, at length aſked
" him what countryman he was;
" to which he anſwered, I am a
" native of Perigord. *Ventreſaint-*
" *gris*, replies the king, I always
" thought ſo; for in that country
" they are all falſe coiners.—On
" Saturday, the 5th of September,
" the court being met on the edit
" de monoies, rejected it entirely;
" *Nec debemus, nec poſſumus*, we nei-
" ther ought nor can, concluded
" they with one voice. The gentle-
" men belonging to the mint were
" ſent for; among whom one of
" the reformed religion, called Bi-
" zeul, ſpoke his ſentiments very
" freely, for which he was highly
" commended; and M. le Premier
" preſident ſaid, *Non in parabolis*
" *iſte locutus eſt nobis.* It muſt be
" obſerved, that as ſoon as the
" people belonging to the coinage
" had entered the chamber, the
" firſt preſident ſaid to them, Sit
" down and be covered, and you
" ſhall ſpeak preſently. On Tueſ-
" day the 18th, in the evening, M.
" de Sully went to ſee the firſt pre-
" ſident, in order to prevail on him
" to perſuade the court to paſs the
" edicts: but in this he found
" him inflexible: and as the preſi-
" dent repreſented to him the in-
" juſtice of it, M. de Sully anſwer-
" ed, The king ought not to look
" upon that as unjuſt which ſuits
" his affairs.--On Tueſday the 15th
" of September, the king ſent his
" letters patent to the court, to
" prolong the parliament for eight
" days, during which time they
" were ordered to ſet about the re-
" geſtring of the edicts, two of
" which were in a manner revoked;
" and as to the others, it was hoped
" they would die of themſelves."

* Le Septennaire mentions the places where theſe mines of all ſorts were diſcovered: " In the " Pyrennees mines of talc and cop-
" per, together with ſome of gold
" and ſilver; in the mountains of
" Foix, mines of jet and precious
" ſtones, and even carbuncles, tho'
" but few; in the lands of Gevau-
" dan, and in the Cevennes, mines

1602. at court, with ſo many appearances of probability, that every one repreſenting to himſelf the direction of this new labour as a ſource of immenſe riches, there was not one who did not uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure the grant of it. Monſieur Le Grand obtained the office of ſuperintendant, and Béringhen that of comptroller-general. This gave occaſion for La Regnardiere, a buffoon, whoſe jeſts were equally ſatirical and agreeable, to ſay, "that "they could not have made a fitter choice of a man "for the direction of the mines, than one who was "himſelf a compoſition of *mines**." The improvement and working of ſilk, of which I ſhall have more occaſion to ſpeak in the following year, commenced in this, and an edict was publiſhed for the planting of mulberry trees.

Among all theſe different edicts, none made ſo much noiſe as that againſt duels †. His majeſty went ſo far as to make death the puniſhment of thoſe who diſobeyed; in which, I confeſs, he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious and ſavage abuſe, to fear the accuſation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foreſaw, that an exceſs of ſeverity in the means would be the principal obſtacle to the

"of lead and tin; in thoſe of Car-
"caſſone, mines of ſilver; in thoſe
"of Auvergne, mines of iron; in
"the Lyonois, near the village St.
"Martin, of gold and ſilver; in
"Normandy, ſilver and very good
"tin; at Annonay in the Vivarais,
"mines of lead; in La Brie and
"Picardy, mines of marcaſite of
"gold and ſilver. Some of theſe
"mines, but eſpecially thoſe of
"gold and ſilver, are very difficult
"and troubleſome to work, and at
"the ſame time of ſo little profit,
"that M. de Thou had reaſon
"for diſſuading them from med-
"dling with them ever ſince that
"time." liv. cxxix.

* The jeſt lies in the word *mines*, which in French ſignifies grimace and affectation.

† This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high treaſon or *leze majeſté*, was paſſed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very ſevere one: this is the edict which firſt gave the conſtables and marechals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament reſtricted, in the regiſtring, to thoſe rencounters alone that concerned the point of honour, and excepted all other crimes, as debts, affaults, &c. M. de Sully, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, handles this affair of duelling at greater length.

execution. When it becomes neceſſary to declare the will of the ſovereign to the ſubject, it is of the utmoſt importance to examine carefully, whether the thing to be forbidden is of ſuch a nature that the fear of death may prevent diſobedience; for otherwiſe thoſe extremities are, in my opinion, leſs efficacious than degradation or diſgrace, or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If the practice of duelling be ſeriouſly attended to, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly perſons of quality, and even of the greateſt diſtinction, who are guilty of it; for whom ſolicitations are ſo much the more ardent and ſucceſsful, as the puniſhment with which they are threatened is great and infamous: it is not therefore to be doubted, that many pardons will be granted, the example, and the hope of which, are ſufficient to encourage others to infringe the law. It often happens, that thoſe puniſhments are moſt regarded, for which a pardon dare not, nor cannot be implored. 1602.

Beſides thoſe embaſſies I have already mentioned at the beginning of this year, the king received a ſolemn deputation from the thirteen Swiſs Cantons: forty-two deputies from that nation came to Paris to renew the alliance *, which had been the occaſion of marechal Biron's journey to thoſe Cantons. I was appointed, together with Sillery, De Vic, and Caumartin, to treat with them; but, not being able, on account of my other employments, to attend this buſineſs conſtantly, I ſatisfied myſelf with getting exact informations from Sillery of all that paſſed at their meetings. The only difficulty I ſtarted, was concerning the three millions that were granted them, beſides the forty thouſand crowns to which their uſual penſion was raiſed: I could have wiſhed that they had deducted certain ſums paid on their ac-

* See all the ceremonies of entries, audiences, and performances of oaths, which were obſerved on this occaſion, in Le Septennaire, ann. 1602. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 471, &c.

1602. count, during the campaign in Savoy, and on ſome other occaſions; as for the reſt, theſe gentlemen thought good chear, and deep drinking with them, the moſt eſſential parts of their reception. The king preſented them with gold chains and medals, and ſent back the pope's chamberlain, who came to compliment him in the name of his holineſs, loaded with preſents: he gave his conſent to the alliance which the republic of Venice made with the Griſons againſt Spain.

The great armaments and other warlike preparations which that crown was making for the following year, kept the crown of France in continual attention to their motions, and were the cauſe that Henry, who held it for an inconteſtable truth, that it was by the military power alone a ſtate could be rendered flouriſhing, not only rejected the propoſal I made him, to diſband part of his troops, particularly to leſſen the number of his guards by twelve or fifteen hundred men, but alſo that he took a reſolution to make a new levy of ſix thouſand Swiſs; and it was with great difficulty that I prevailed upon him to defer this levy till the month of September. He was more ſolicitous than ever about the payment of his army, and I was obliged to the conſtable for having ſolicited with great earneſtneſs the payment of my company of gendarmes. And at laſt he determined to take another journey to Calais, which was the moſt conſiderable of all his majeſty made this year, except that into the provinces.

Henry took his route through Verneuil * towards the latter end of the month of Auguſt, leaving his queen in the ſame condition ſhe was the preceding year, that is, far advanced in her pregnancy, for ſhe lay-in of Madame, her eldeſt daughter, in November †. He recommended to me with great ear-

* Verneuil near Senlis, a caſtle which he had given to his miſtreſs, mademoiſelle d'Entragues, and from which ſhe took the title of marchioneſs of Verneuil.

† Elizabeth, a daughter of France, was born on the 22d of November, 1602, and married to Philip IV. of Spain in 1615.

neſtneſs

neſtneſs to be aſſiduous about her, and endeavour to make her approve of this journey; as likewiſe to procure her every kind of diverſion that might alleviate her concern during the firſt days of his abſence. He never wrote to me without making inquiry about the ſtate of her health, and the manner in which ſhe paſſed her time: and it may be truly ſaid, that he never omitted giving her every inſtance of reſpect and tenderneſs that was able to make her forget the uneaſineſs ſhe received from his amours. It was about this time that he legitimated the ſon he had by the marchioneſs de Verneuil *, which was among the number of thoſe things that gave the greateſt offence to the queen. Henry was detained a little time at Monceaux by a fever, occaſioned by a cold he got in walking late in the evening to ſee his maſons work; the remedy he made uſe of was, to go to the chace next day. As ſoon as I had acquainted him at Boulogne, that every thing relating to the queen was in ſuch a ſituation as he wiſhed, he wrote to me to come to him in this city, with the preſident Jeannin, whom he expected to have occaſion for. 1602.

It was from this place that his majeſty was a witneſs of part of the event and exploits of the campaign between the Spaniards and the Flemiſh, without having any inclination to diſarm, whatever aſſurance might be given him by the king of Spain, till he had ſeen what turn affairs would take in the Low Countries; where, however, they ſtill continued to be on the ſame footing as before. The ſiege of Oſtend was not carried on with ſo much vigour by the beſiegers, as it was ſuſtained by the beſieged. Prince Maurice of Naſſau, after continuing ſome time at Berg, uncertain of what he ſhould next undertake, went on the 19th of September to inveſt Grave, and entrenched himſelf, not

* Henry de Bourbon, duke de Verneuil: he was at firſt biſhop of Metz, and afterwards married Charlotte Seguier.

doubting

1602. doubting but he ſhould receive ſome oppoſition in this enterprize. Accordingly, the admiral of Arragon, in the abſence of the arch-duke Albert, who was detained by ſickneſs at Bruſſels, endeavoured, by means of a bridge which he threw over the river, to beat up one of the quarters of the beſiegers, and to ſuccour the place; but he did not ſucceed: and he had even the mortification to find, that many of his Spaniſh companies mutinied, and, after ſeparating from the main body of his army, poſſeſſed themſelves of Hoeſtrate and Dele. He took ſuch wrong methods to engage them to return, that they came to a reſolution to apply to the prince of Orange, who gave them the city of Grave for a retreat, which he had taken, and which theſe Spaniards reſtored to him, when the ravages and violences they committed upon the territories of the arch-duke obliged him to treat with them, and to accept of very ſtrange conditions from them *.

The council of Spain, through a deſire of carrying on the war, reſolved to make new and more vigorous efforts. A ſquadron of twelve large gallies and pinnaces, fitted out at Sicily with great care, manned with a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſary proviſions, ſailed for this purpoſe out of the Spaniſh ports, to cruiſe in the channel: the command of this ſquadron was given to Frederick Spinola, couſin to the marquis of that name, who conducted the ſiege of Oſtend; he flattered himſelf that he ſhould become maſter of the ſea, and complete the ruin of the Flemiſh. But this proved a vain hope; of twelve veſſels, two of them periſhed ere he had quitted the coaſts of Spain; the ten others, meeting with a Dutch ſquadron, were almoſt all either taken or ſunk; the laſt that eſcaped, and in which Spinola himſelf was, happened to run a-ground within view

* See in the hiſtorians the particulars of all theſe expeditions, which are here only briefly related.

of Calais, but ſo diſabled by the cannon, and in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that the ſlaves who rowed it having revolted and fled, the general found himſelf obliged to land alone, and with great labour, at Calais, from whence he went to Bruſſels, to complain to the arch-duke of the ſea and the winds. 1602.

Spain made herſelf amends for theſe misfortunes, by the acquiſition of the marquiſate of Final, which was taken by the count of Fuentes. There was not the leaſt ſhadow of a pretence for this uſurpation; this little ſtate, which is on the coaſt of Genoa, being inconteſtably a fief of the empire; nevertheleſs, when the Emperor, to preſerve, in appearance at leaſt, the right of the empire, offered to ſend commiſſioners to diſcuſs this affair upon the ſpot, his offer was rejected with contempt by the king of Spain*. He uſed the ſame violence with regard to Piombino, a fief likewiſe of the empire, which afforded him a convenient port; and had likewiſe the ſame views upon Embden, when he undertook to ſupport againſt the inhabitants the lord † of this city, although he was avowedly a proteſtant; but in this he did not ſucceed: the citizens of Embden maintained their liberty againſt both the one and the other, and joined themſelves to the ſtates.

The duke of Savoy ſucceeded no better in the attempt he ordered d'Albigny ‡ to make upon the city of Genoa. This expedition ended unfortunately for the aſſailants, although they had opened themſelves a paſſage into the city, by applying ſoldiers to the walls, and above two hundred of them had already entered, after cutting the centinel's throat, whom they had forced to tell them the watch-word, which ſerved them to get clear of the patrole till they had found their way through the firſt guard;

* The marquis of Final, by his importunities, obtained a penſion during his life.

† He was called count d'Oſt Frize. See the origin of theſe troubles in Chron. Sept. an 1598, and their concluſion, an. 1602.

‡ Charles de Simiane d'Albigne. De Thou, liv. 129. Septen. an. 1602. Matthieu, ibid. 544.

and

1602. and now they thought themſelves ſecure of the city; but the citizens, deriving new ſtrength and courage from the extremity they beheld themſelves in, charged them with ſo much fury, that they drove them back, and forced them to abandon their city. Some of theſe Savoyards threw themſelves off the walls, to eſcape the rage of the enemies; many others were taken and hanged without mercy. Spain entered very deep into that black deſign, which was followed by a peace between the duke of Savoy and the republic of Genoa *.

The revolt of Battori from the emperor continued the war in Hungary: the duke of Nevers † went thither, in expectation of ſucceeding to the

* The treaty was concluded the following year at Ramilly, through the mediation of the Swiſs Cantons. Siri, ibid. p. 200.

† Charles de Gonzague, duke of Mantua, de Nevers, de Cleves, and de Rhetel, who died in 1637. See how la Chronol. Septen. relates an action, of which M. de Sully ſpeaks with a kind of contempt. "The duke of Nevers thinking, "by his own example, to recal "the courage of thoſe who with-"drew from danger, and to in-"duce others to come on, went "directly to the breach, trampling "over the dead, the wounded, and "even thoſe that were flying; but "he received there the ſhot of "a large arquebuſe that was fired "amidſt a great number of other "arms, from one of the angles of "the ſaid breach, that ſtruck him "juſt on the left ſide, penetrating "into the breaſt near the heart "and lungs; but it was conducted "ſo providentially, that, neither "breaking, or hurting any noble "part, it gained him as much laſt-"ing honour, as it ſhewed a great "miracle in his preſervation." Let us likewiſe hear this writer concerning the death of the duke de Mercœur: "Having an inclination, "ſays he, to return to France, in "order to prepare for ſome great-"er expedition againſt the Turks, "he went from Vienna to Prague, "where he took his leave of the "emperor: but while he was at "Noremberg he was ſeized with a "peſtilential ſpotted fever. No "ſooner was the hoſt brought him, "than the moment he ſaw it, tho' "in a languiſhing and weak ſtate "of body, yet of a vigorous and "ſound mind, *having more faith "than life* (the device of the duke "of Mercœur being, *plus fidei "quam vitæ*) he threw himſelf out "of bed, and falling proſtrate upon "the ground, adored his Saviour, "uttering the moſt devout ejacula-"tions." The whole of what this author adds concerning the acts, ſayings, and ſentiments, of the duke of Mercœur, till the moment of his death, is quite affecting, and ſerves ſufficiently to form a high eulogium of his character: "His "funeral oration was pronounced "in the church of Notre Dame at "Paris, by monſieur François de "Selles, coadjutor and biſhop elect "of Geneve. The Turks imagined "that the affairs of the Chriſtians "did not proſper but where-ever "this prince was." After the elogium of his family, the hiſtorian paſſes to that of his virtues: "He

poſt and reputation of the duke of Mercœur, but laying ſiege to Buda after Peſt had been taken by the Chriſtians, the Turks, who on their ſide had, at length, won Alba regalis, haſtened thither with ſuch numerous forces, that they obliged them to raiſe the ſiege; and the duke of Nevers retreated very much wounded. An action of George Baſte, the imperial general, has been very much and very deſervedly applauded. The rebels in Battori's party having ſeized Biſtrith, Baſte retook this place by a capitulation, which during his abſence was violated by ſome German ſoldiers. As ſoon as he was appriſed of it at his return, he hanged up all thoſe ſoldiers, and out of his own money ſatisfied the inhabitants for the damage they had received. The rebels were ſo greatly affected with the generoſity of this action, that they all ſubmitted to the Emperor, and demanded no other ſecurity than the general's word. 1602.

" was one of the moſt temperate men in the world as to diet, ſo " as only to eat when obliged thro' " neceſſity, and he drank almoſt " nothing but water: he was no " leſs abſtemious in other tempo- " ral enjoyments; humble in the " poſſeſſion of all thoſe high ho- " nours and great favours heaven " had heaped upon him, and ne- " ver abuſing any of them; he was " equally acceſſible to rich and " poor; moderate in his recrea- " tions; he had a great contempt " for idle aſſemblies; ſo that what " time remained for amuſement " he employed in reading uſeful " books. He had an exact ſkill " in practical mathematics; he " alſo was eloquent, and would " gracefully deliver his elegant " ſentiments not only in French, " but likewiſe in the German, Ita- " lian and Spaniſh tongues, in " which he was more than mode- " rately ſkilled; and yet he never " employed his elocution but to " enforce things that were uſeful, " praiſe-worthy, and virtuous." The deſcription which this writer afterwards gives with regard to his performing the duties of religion and thoſe of his ſtation, his piety, his prudence, and his other virtues, form altogether a picture which may ſerve for a model to the great of our times, if we except that an immoderate ambition and miſtaken zeal for religion made him undertake a conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign. Matthieu, ibid. 456. ſpeaks of him in the ſame manner.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XIV.

1603. THE city of Metz had been, for ſome time, ſhaken with thoſe inteſtine diviſions, which broke out in the beginning of this year. The duke of Epernon, who was governor of it, and of the wole country of Meſſin, had placed Sobole * and his brother as his lieutenants there; who made ſuch an ill uſe of their authority, that they were ſoon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was ſtrengthened by the difference of their religions; and there was ſuch a general outcry amongſt the citizens and country people, againſt the lieutenants, that d'Epernon was obliged to go himſelf to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and to endeavour to conciliate them to each other. Sobole complained, that the city refuſed to furniſh the troops with victual, and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some diſputes had alſo riſen concerning a certain Provençal Priſoner at Vitry; which, through rancour and deſire of revenge, occaſioned ſeveral other matters leſs conſiderable; and theſe heats had al-

* Raymond de Comminges, lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gaſcony.

ready

ready proceeded ſo far as to make a revolt be apprehended. 1603.

The duke of Epernon was ſoon convinced that the two Soboles * had not juſtice on their ſide, at leaſt, with regard to the firſt complaint, which was indeed the chief, and by them made the occaſion of a quarrel, with no other view than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in caſe of a war or a ſiege, and this to make themſelves maſters of them. D'Epernon would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their poſts; for he well knew, that this was an exertion of authority, which he would have ſome difficulty to ſupport himſelf in, the two brothers being at the head of a party, ſtrong enough to oppoſe the governor as well as the citizens.

Things were in this ſtate, when the king received advice of what was doing at Metz: he ſent me notice that he would come to the arſenal to confer with me, and deſired that I would have a ſupper prepared for him and ſix other perſons whom he ſhould bring with him. He made me follow him alone into the great ſtore-houſes of cannons and arms, and, beginning, as uſual, to diſcourſe about the ſituation of affairs within the kingdom, with reſpect to the malecontents, he told me the news he had juſt received from Metz. Henry, without any heſitation, reſolved upon taking a journey thither, upon his reflecting that if Metz, a city ſo very lately diſmembered from the empire, ſhould unfortunately happen, in the preſent conjuncture, to ſeparate itſelf from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey abſolutely neceſſary, beſides that of taking from

* Sobole accuſed the city of Metz of holding intelligence with the count of Mansfield, in order to ſurrender itſelf to the king of Spain. This accuſation appeared to be falſe. Vie du duc d'Epernon, p. 217.

the

1602. the duke of Epernon a citadel, which he might make uſe of to very bad purpoſes, and a conſiderable extent of country, wherein, under the reign of Henry the third, he had behaved more like a ſovereign prince than a governor; and, upon a ſuppoſition that he ſhould one day carry his great deſigns into execution, there would be a neceſſity for having, in this country, ſo important by its ſituation, a governor from whom he could promiſe himſelf more aſſiſtance, than he could expect from d'Epernon. It was probable at leaſt that ſome favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorrain to France, and in that caſe it imported his majeſty highly to go himſelf in perſon, and procure a perfect knowledge of this ſtate, and give the government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey likewiſe would be of uſe to him, affording him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with ſome of the princes of Germany, and of ſounding their inclinations with reſpect to the houſe of Auſtria, to know if he might expect any aſſiſtance from them in an advantageous conjuncture, and even to attach them to himſelf, by reconciling them to one another, for he was not ignorant that many differences ſubſiſted amongſt them.

It was agreed between us, that his majeſty ſhould ſet out without loſs of time, to the end, that by appearing at Metz with his whole court (for it was reſolved that the queen ſhould accompany him) at a time when the two factions, not having yet proceeded ſo far in their inſolence as to embrace a party contrary to the king, both the one and the other ſhould think of nothing but of juſtifying their conduct, and ſubmitting to his determination. The king would not even ſtay till the coats of his guards (for about this time they were to be all new cloathed) were ready; but leaving me at Paris to correſpond with him, ordered only Villeroi among his ſecretaries of ſtate to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon,

ſon, which made the roads very bad for the ladies to travel, and took his rout by La-Ferté-ſur-Jouarre, Dorman-ſur-Marne, Epernai, Châlons-ſur-Marne, and Clermont: the court ſtopped at Verdun, and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Freſne-en-Verdunois. 1603.

Henry's arrival put an end to all diſputes, and nothing was talked of but ſubmiſſion and obedience: not but Sobole, who was ſenſible this affair would be terminated by his expulſion, had ambition and reſolution enough to maintain himſelf in the citadel in ſpite of his majeſty, and diſcloſed his thoughts to his particular friends; but the moſt prudent amongſt them repreſented to him, that, if he engaged in ſuch a deſign, he would be irretrievably ruined; ſo that, ſubmitting to the arret for his baniſhment, he gave up the citadel without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Meſſin. The king appointed Montigny* to be his lieutenant in this province, in the room of Sobole, and d'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and caſtle of Metz. Montigny, for this new poſt, quitted his government of Paris, the ſalary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that d'Epernon was far from being ſatisfied with all theſe changes; as may be eaſily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment; but he could have nothing to ſay, he himſelf, through neceſſity, being the firſt to require the baniſhment of the two Soboles, ſo that every thing ſeemed to be done with his conſent.

* Francis de la Grange, lord of Montigny, Sery, &c. was chief ſteward of the houſhold to Henry III. governor of Berry, Blois, &c. knight of the order of the Holy-Ghoſt, camp-maſter general of the light-horſe, governor of Paris, afterwards of Metz, the Pays Meſſin, Toul, and Verdun, at laſt, marechal of France, and died in 1617. His brother was Antony, lord of Arquien, commandant of the citadel of Metz, governor of Calais, Sancerre, &c. He is miſcalled by ſome, John-James d'Arquien; and d'Arcy, by father Daniel. John-James d'Arquien was nephew of marechal de Montigny.

1603. I have taken this whole detail from the letters his majeſty honoured me with during his ſtay at Metz, in which he informed me ſuccinctly of all the incidents, and dwelt ſtill longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itſelf, which he ſaid was three times larger than Orleans, and finely ſituated, but that the caſtle was not worth any thing; he likewiſe told me, that he wiſhed for my preſence in that country, that he might ſend me to viſit the frontier, and that, before ſix days, he ſhould put every thing in ſuch good order as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the king accompliſhed it in much leſs time, and was only detained there by an indiſpoſition, that obliged him to take ſome medicines, after which he found himſelf quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought had been occaſioned by a cold. The dutcheſs of Bar, ſiſter to his majeſty, came to Metz on the ſixteenth of March, and the duke de Deux-Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days afterwards. The remainder of the time his majeſty ſtaid in this province was employed in concluding a marriage between mademoiſelle de Rohan, and the young duke de Deux-Ponts*; in compoſing a difference between the cardinal of Lorrain, and the prince of Brandenbourg†, concerning the biſhopric of Straſbourg, which was accompliſhed by dividing the revenue of this biſhopric equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretenſions; in reſtoring tranquillity to that city, and in being ſerviceable to all the princes who required his interpoſition in any of their affairs. The name of Henry

* John II. duke of Deux-Ponts, of a branch of the houſe of Bavaria, married Catherine the daughter of Henry duke of Rohan.

† John Manderſcheldt, the catholic biſhop of Straſbourg, dying in 1594, cardinal Charles of Lorrain obtained this biſhopric of the pope; and the proteſtants, on their part, got John-George, brother of the elector of Brandenbourg, elected; whence a war aroſe, which continued till this year. See the hiſtorians, Baſſompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. Septennaire, &c.

became

became ſo revered in this country, that ſeveral ſo- 1603.
vereign princes of Germany took a reſolution to
come thither and pay their reſpects to him, to offer him their ſervice, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambaſſadors, the neceſſary preparations for their equipages taking up more time than his majeſty had determined to ſtay at Metz. There were only the cardinal of Lorrain, the Duke de Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandenbourg and Pomerania, the landgrave of Heſſe, and three or four others whoſe dominions lay neareſt the Rhine, that came thither in perſon.

The Jeſuits, who ever ſince their baniſhment had been uſing their utmoſt endeavours to procure their re-eſtabliſhment in France, appeared no leſs ſolicitous to make their court to the king; for this purpoſe, they made uſe of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun *, ſupported by La-Varenne, who declared himſelf their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirſted after the moſt eminent dignities in the church. D'Oſſat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardour and ſucceſs in their favour. The ambitious deſire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe had often made this man undertake to treat

* The fathers Ignatius Armand, provincial Chateiller, Broſſard, and La-Tour, introduced by La-Varenne, came on Wedneſday in Paſſion-week to throw themſelves at the king's feet, and to implore his favour for their re-admiſſion into France. Henry IV. would not ſuffer the provincial, who ſpoke for the whole order, to addreſs him kneeling. When he had done, the king anſwered them, that, for his part, he was not an ill-wiſher to the Jeſuits: he required them to give him in writing, what they had been ſaying to him, and kept them the whole day with him. They returned on Eaſter Monday, and the king promiſed to recall them, and even ordered the father provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring father Cotton with him. "I will have you with me," added he, "for I think you uſeful to the "public, and to my kingdom." He diſmiſſed them, after having embraced them all four. De Thou, b. cxxix. Chronolog. Sept. anno 1603. MSS. Blioth. Royale, vol. 9129, &c. P. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 556.

1603. of matters quite foreign to his commiſſion: the obſtacles he raiſed at Rome to the marriage of the princeſs Catherine, the king's ſiſter, is one proof of it, and his ſolicitations for the Jeſuits another; for the re-eſtabliſhment of this ſociety was regarded by him, Villeroi, Jeannin, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the moſt eſſential part of that ſyſtem of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there, to that purſued by the council.

D'Oſſat, by printing his letters, which prove the truth of my aſſertions concerning him, ſeems not to be ſolicitous about concealing his true ſentiments from the public; but, if he is inexcuſable for having almoſt always obſerved a conduct quite oppoſite to that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have ſuggeſted to him, he deſerves ſtill greater reproaches for having endeavoured, both in his diſcourſe and in his writings, to give a bad impreſſion of the king and his miniſters. When removed from the center of buſineſs, all the informations he could obtain muſt be through the canal of wretches, to whom a man of ſenſe and judgment ought to be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive that this paſſage tends partly to juſtify myſelf againſt the cenſures of d'Oſſat, this cardinal having about that time wrote a letter to Villeroi, in which he did not ſcruple to attribute marechal Biron's rebellion, and the diſcontent of the other French lords, to the very little ſatisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppreſſion the people groaned under through the tyranny of his counſellors: and that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himſelf upon his nice diſcernment in affairs of ſtate, preſumed, by deſiring Villeroi to ſhew his letter to the king, to adviſe his majeſty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands. Poſſibly if this proceeding of d'Oſſat's was thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than miſtake

take in it; for it is not likely that a man, who received such exact informations from Villeroi of every thing that happened, could be ignorant that what he represented as a general conspiracy of all the states in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction composed of a few persons, whose heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiousness of the late times; and that all the rest of the French nobility placed their glory and their happiness in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their side, praised him no less, and, in effect, had no less reason to praise him, having but lately received a very considerable gratuity from him; and lastly, that the people, besides the suppression of the penny in the shilling, had, by his majesty, been farther relieved by an abatement of two millions in the land tax. 1603.

I was not acquainted with any of d'Ossat's malicious proceedings, nor of his personal complaints against me, for not paying his pension exactly. Villeroi undertook to recommend the speedy payment of it to me, and acquitted himself of this commission, by exalting, as usual, the great abilities and services of this cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accosted by a banker, who made me a proposal to discharge certain pensions, given by his majesty to persons at Rome, among others d'Ossat's, which he did with the same unpolite freedom that the cabal of my enemies affected to use me with. There are some offices in themselves of such dignity, as to draw respect and consideration upon the persons who possess them. I was not sorry that the banker was made sensible of this truth, and I sent him away coldly enough. D'Ossat found himself obliged to write to me four months afterwards, and I received his letter at the same time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambassador at that court. D'Ossat expressed himself in so insolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deserved no better an answer than I had given the banker. However, being of

1603. opinion that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draught for his payment, when I received an inconteſtible proof of the injurious language he publicly uſed againſt me; that inſtant, I confeſs, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and ſubſtituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time reſolved to expedite no more, but by the king's expreſs command. I wrote to Villeroi at Metz, and acquainted him with this reſolution, and in the poſtſcript of my letter, gave him a detail of the ſpeeches and letters of d'Oſſat, in which I was concerned, and, in the heighth of my juſt indignation, gave this cardinal the epithets of ingrateful and imprudent; which, if what I heard of him was true, he deſerved; if falſe, I gave Villeroi to underſtand, that I would pay a proper regard to his interpoſition in favour of d'Oſſat. He was ſtill more affected by my threat to acquaint the king with the inſolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified: I conſented, and all the revenge I took upon d'Oſſat, was to render his intrigues at Rome ineffectual: thoſe in favour of the Jeſuits were continued only during this year, for the ſociety returned to France in the following year.

I ſhall reſume this article in a proper place, and ſhall have occaſion once more to introduce d'Oſſat, on account of a memorial which was addreſſed to me from Rome againſt him. At preſent, what remains to be ſaid of him regards the coadjutorſhip of Baïeux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair was worth a long detail; but as it is not, I ſhall content myſelf with only informing the reader, that d'Oſſat procured himſelf to be made coadjutor of Baïeux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His majeſty gave me this abbey, after performing the promiſe he made to the Maintenons, that they ſhould loſe nothing by it, ſince they obtained an equivalent upon the biſhop-

ric of Evreux. Villeroi earneſtly ſolicited his majeſty for d'Oſſat, and endeavoured to engage my intereſt for his friend; Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly diſſatisfied that this favour was granted him. 1603.

The pope's nuncio made me another complaint in the king's abſence, upon the journey his majeſty had undertaken. That his holineſs intereſted himſelf in it, was occaſioned by the Spaniards having joined to the notion they formed to themſelves of the occaſion of this voyage, that which was conceived of his majeſty's armaments and treaſures, which common fame had greatly increaſed, and infected even the holy father with their apprehenſions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to reaſſure him, without troubling myſelf to draw either Spain or Savoy out of their opinion.

His majeſty and I treated by letters of many different affairs, and amongſt others that of Flanders. It was computed that, the laſt of February this year, the Spaniards had loſt eighteen thouſand men, and fired above two hundred and fifty thouſand volleys of cannon before Oſtend; nevertheleſs the ſiege was but very little advanced, and, in the month of April, the beſiegers attempting to make a general aſſault, they were repulſed with great loſs. From this, the archduke was convinced that, notwithſtanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Naſſau, on his ſide, after the reduction of Grave, laid ſiege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to inveſt Boiſleduc, not conſidering that this enterpriſe exceeded his ſtrength, it being impoſſible, as I have already obſerved, to take Boiſleduc with ſo ſmall a number of troops. Accordingly he was on the point of loſing both his army and his reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the ſatisfaction to drive the Spaniards out of the caſtle of Vactendonck, where they were, in a manner, already maſters. The garriſon of this place,

1603. too weak to reſiſt them, and no longer thinking of any thing but retreating, had abandoned the city and the caſtle to their diſcretion, when they were joined by ſome Dutch troops, who paſſed by that place in their march to the army of prince Maurice, and all together attacked the Spaniards, and diſlodged them from the caſtle.

It may be eaſily imagined, that the United Provinces could not carry on this war without being at a great expence both of men and money, to which it was abſolutely neceſſary that France ſhould continue to contribute. The ſiege of Oſtend alone had coſt them one hundred thouſand vollies of cannon, and ſeven thouſand men. His majeſty, for the intereſt of both the powers, kept Buzenval * in thoſe provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France; and the agent ſent by the ſtates to the king was named Aërſens †; this agent repreſented to me, that his countrymen would be ſoon in no condition to keep the field, unleſs his majeſty would permit them to recruit the French companies that were in their ſervice with Frenchmen. The king ſent me an anſwer from Chalons-ſur-Marne to this requeſt, which I had communicated to him, and told me that he conſented to it, but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon theſe conditions, that it ſhould be Aërſens himſelf that ſhould raiſe the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, having already acted in ſuch a manner, as to draw upon him ſome reproaches from the

* Paul Choart de Buzenval.

† Francis Aërſens, reſident and afterwards ambaſſador from the ſtates of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time repreſent him as a man of a ſubtil, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal de Richelieu ſpeaks of him, Oxenſtiern, chancellor of Sweden, and Guiſcardi, chancellor of Montferat, as the three only politicians he had ever known in Europe. "It "was the received opinion of that "time," ſays Amelot de la Houſſaye, "that Henry IV. had an amour "with Aërſens' wife, and that the "huſband was content with it, "by reaſon of the profit he reaped "from it: this amour laid the "foundation of his fortune. He "left 100,000 livres a year to his "ſon, who was called Van Sommerdyk."

king of Spain: that the recruits ſhould be raiſed with the utmoſt expedition and the utmoſt ſecreſy; and that the ſoldiers who liſted, the number of which he deſired to know, ſhould file off, without any noiſe, to the place where they were to embark, marching ſix in a company at moſt, with no other arms than their ſwords, and no more money than was neceſſary to anſwer their expences till they got there; that they ſhould take ſhipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this laſt city being too much crouded with foreigners; and that notice ſhould be ſent to Chaſtes, who was governor of it, and vice-admiral de Vice, whoſe concurrence was neceſſary to the deſign, and for whom he ſent me a letter without a ſeal. Some alterations, however, were made in theſe orders; Aërſens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion, that I ought not to meddle in it, the officers raiſed the recruits, but did it with all poſſible ſecreſy. His majeſty thought it would not be amiſs to ſend the garriſon he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders, and, for fear that they ſhould enliſt with the arch-duke, caſt his eyes upon my couſin Bethune to conduct them. As for the penſion for which Aërſens ſtrongly importuned me, the king deferred taking a reſolution about it till his return. 1603.

During the ſtay his majeſty made at Metz, the duke of Bouillon brought his affair likewiſe upon the carpet: he had retired to Germany to the elector Palatine, to whom he was allied by the electreſs: he prevailed upon this elector to undertake his juſtification to Henry *, or to deceive him again by a letter, which his majeſty ſent me immediately to have my opinion of it. The purport of this letter, in which the elector Palatine very unſeaſonably affected to treat with the king of France as with an equal, was to repreſent to him the great affliction it gave to the duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity ſuſpected by

* Hiſtory of Henry duke of Bouillon, book v.

the

1603. the king, and to assure him that he himself was convinced of his innocence, by proofs which he thought unanswerable. The king had sent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterward gave him notice by La Tremouille that he should at least stop at Sedan, but Bouillon had done neither the one or the other; the Palatine, therefore, to excuse the duke, alledged, that with regard to the first complaint, the quality of his accusers made it imprudent for the duke to go and abandon himself to them; and to the second he said, that the gentleman who had brought his majesty's letter had found Bouillon at Geneva, from whence he had a sincere intention to go and expect his majesty at Sedan; but that thinking it necessary to take his rout through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependence upon Spain and Lorrain, and also to pay his respects to the elector and electress, his kinswoman, whom he had not yet seen, it was owing to this tedious journey that he had missed the opportunity of receiving his majesty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated assurances of the duke's attachment to his majesty, for the sincerity of which, the elector brought the connexion there was between them as a proof.

Henry answered the elector's letter with more politeness than he had reason to expect, and promised, as he had always done, to restore the duke of Bouillon to his friendship and esteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himself to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making these new protestations, his majesty received, while at Metz, advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man named Du-Plessis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Chatillon, had been sent by the duke of Tremouille to the duke of Bouillon with dispatches, in which his majesty was nearly concerned, that this courier, who was to set out from Longjumeau, had orders to pass through Sedan without making himself known, not even

even to Du-Maurier; and at his return, he was again to paſs through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the anſwer to Tremouille's diſpatches, whom he was to meet at Comblat. His majeſty would not have entered into ſo circumſtantial an account of this affair, but that he wiſhed (which however was not practicable) that I, in concert with Rapin, could arreſt this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thouars, after he ſhould have received letters in that city, which would fully diſcover the nature of his commiſſion. 1603.

His majeſty had certainly no occaſion for farther proofs of the duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too raſhly, that the ſubmiſſion which appeared in that ſtep he had lately prevailed upon the elector to make in his favour, was only diſſembled, with a view to two things: the firſt was to inſpire the king with a ſecurity in regard to his perſon, and the ſecond to continue to draw from him thoſe ſums which for a long time he had regularly received for the ſupport of his fortreſſes. This demand he renewed by Saint-Germain, with whom Henry was highly diſpleaſed. His majeſty recommended it earneſtly to me, to have no regard to the inſtances that were made me from Bouillon, but at the ſame time to give him no reaſon to ſuſpect that I had any knowledge of what he had juſt related to me. Theſe orders were indeed unneceſſary, after the diſcoveries I had lately made of the new diſcontents which Bouillon and Tremouille had excited in the provinces amongſt the proteſtants, and from the reſult of the converſation I had with Henry at the Arſenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

To proceed; after having long conſidered the caſt of the cabal, which ſtruck a mortal blow to the heart of Henry, I found means at laſt to ſet him at peace, by ſhewing him, that however formidable might be its preſent appearance, it would, after ſome ineffectual

1603. tual ſtruggles, fall into nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconſiderateneſs of thoſe whom we are pleaſed to term the vulgar, I have always found, that though they may fix upon ſome particular aims, and follow them not only with raſhneſs but rapture, yet theſe aims are always to a certain degree general, and directed to ſome common intereſt; but that any private one's ends, ſuch as proceed from the anger or wiſhes of a particular man, or of a ſmall number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to ſay farther, that of general intereſts the voice of the people will give the moſt certain judgment: allowing this principle, I conſidered the ſeditious party as terrible, only on account of the miſchievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by miſrepreſentations of the king and government; and the dread that might be raiſed of oppreſſion and ſlavery. And as thoſe influences and thoſe terrors would be made every day leſs by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments, or great cities, the court could never ſee itſelf oppoſed but by a paltry rabble, and a few petty fortreſſes, unable to ſtand a fortnight againſt a royal army.

The king was at Metz when he heard the firſt news of the ſickneſs of queen Elizabeth, which was ſent to him by the count de Beaumont*, our ambaſſador at London: his majeſty, thereupon, reſolved to haſten his departure from that city. At his ſiſter's requeſt, he went from thence to Nancy, where ſhe had cauſed a magnificent ballet or interlude to be prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for ſome days in great anxiety about the next advices which he expected to receive concerning the health of Elizabeth. The death † of this great

* Chriſtopher de Harlay, governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

† Elizabeth died the 4th of April, N. S. in the 70th year of her age, and the 44th of her reign. The public report, and the common opinion of the hiſtorians at that time, were, that her death was occaſioned by a ſecret grief and melancholy which ſhe could not conquer; the occaſion of which was attributed to her remorſe and ſelf-

queen,

queen, which he heard of ſoon after, was an irreparable loſs to Europe, and Henry in particular, who could not hope in the ſucceſſor of Elizabeth, to find the ſame favourable diſpoſition to all his deſigns as he had in this princeſs, "the irreconcileable enemy "of his irreconcileable enemies, and a ſecond ſelf:" ſuch were the terms which Henry made uſe of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almoſt wholly filled with the praiſes of this great queen, and expreſſions of ſorrow for her loſs. 1603.

His majeſty, who was immediately ſenſible how greatly this event might influence the political affairs of Europe, determined, as I have already ſaid, to ſend me in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary to king James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I ſhould oppoſe it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commiſſion by the ſtrongeſt motives, and ſuch as he knew moſt likely to make an impreſſion on me. I was the only perſon Henry could think of for this purpoſe; I repeat his words, and that becauſe I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negotiated in this embaſſy. My religion, probably, had already diſpoſed the new king in my favour, and would gain me free acceſs to him. I dare not mention what his majeſty further ſaid, in regard to that reputation of honour and fidelity

reproach for being the cauſe of the earl of Eſſex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, ſhe had ſhewn the greateſt affection. This is the opinion of Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 570. Thuanus and ſome others ſay nothing of this ſuppoſed grief, but, on the contrary, ſay, that, like Auguſtus, ſhe died without grief or fear, and only through the mere failure of nature. Her hatred againſt our religion, and her cruelty in putting her firſt couſin, queen Mary, to death, have tarniſhed the luſtre of her reign: nevertheleſs, I acquieſce in the elogy beſtowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by ſaying, ſhe had thoſe of a king, not merely as ſuch, but of a very great king. She ſpake Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spaniſh; ſhe was alſo well verſed in the mathematics, hiſtory, politics, &c. Beſides particular hiſtories of her life, ſee Thuanus, Perefixe, Journal de Henry IV. La Septennaire, an. 1603. Memoirs d'Etat de Villeroi, tom. III. p. 209. and other French hiſtorians.

which

1603. which he ſaid I had acquired among foreigners. Henry ſoon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-cotterets, and Saint-Germaine-laye, to Fontainebleau, which, within a few days, compleated a tour of two months.

I had received a ſecond letter ſoon after the firſt, in which his majeſty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that immediately upon the death of Elizabeth the Spaniards began to uſe their utmoſt efforts to gain the new king; we ſhall afterwards ſee that this report was but too well grounded. Henry had a thouſand things to ſay to me on this head, which made him extremely deſirous of an opportunity to converſe freely with me about it. I joined him at the houſe of Monglat, where he had ſcarce any attendants with him, at which he expreſſed great ſatisfaction. He embraced me cloſely three times, ſaid a few words publicly to me on the ſucceſs of his journey, and enquired more particularly of me about his buildings * at Saint-Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the arſenal, and for other works, of which I had the inſpection and conduct, and which had been partly the ſubjects of thoſe letters I had received from him; therein he had alſo directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to that apartment of the Louvre called The Hall of Antiquities.

After I had, in a conciſe but ſatisfactory manner, replied to all theſe articles, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the garden, at the door of which he ordered ſome of his guards to be placed. The embaſſy to England was the ſole ſubject of our converſation. His majeſty had at firſt imparted to his court his reſolution to ſend this embaſſy, but without

* Henry IV. built the new caſtle of Saint-Germain, extended the gardens to the banks of the Seine, and formed its beautiful terraſſes.

naming

naming the perſon whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited 1603.
ſome murmurs among the partiſans of the Pope and Spain; and it was ſaid, that Henry ſought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his majeſty, notwithſtanding, declared publicly his intention to inveſt me with this employment, their diſguſt then ſhewed itſelf without reſtraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reaſon to think was made up of my moſt inveterate enemies, boldly repreſented to his majeſty, that to ſend a huguenot to treat concerning the intereſt of the kingdom, with a prince of the ſame religion, would be highly dangerous to the ſtate; and more eſpecially ſo, were he entruſted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his majeſty to revoke my nomination, they contented themſelves with getting my commiſſion confined only to condolances upon the death of the late queen, and compliments for the new king; or, at moſt, to an inſpection into the ſtate of affairs in England; but without any power to act, or even to confer on the principal occaſion of my journey.

Henry, at the ſame time that he informed me of theſe ſecret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to me his aſſurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his deſigns, either with reſpect to the embaſſy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at firſt in view: and he further confirmed this his reſolution, by judiciouſly obſerving, that an embaſſy, whoſe commiſſion ſhould be confined merely to ceremony, would be uſeleſs and vain; and that, if there were any hopes of ever ſeeing the new king of England purſue the maxims of Elizabeth, in regard to the political engagements of that princeſs, it would, doubtleſs, depend chiefly on the manner in which he ſhould be at firſt prejudiced againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its antient partiſans: but he confeſſed to me,

1603. me, that this point appeared to him, in all reſpects, ſo extremely difficult, that unleſs it was managed with the utmoſt dexterity, both in the council of France, and at the Engliſh court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further ſaid, that it would firſt be neceſſary ſo to impoſe on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might ſuſpect nothing in my commiſſion more than what ſhould be declared to me, in their preſence, and even with their conſent. His majeſty, on this occaſion, repeated a ſimile of La Riviere's which he often uſed, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's ſhop, in which are contained not only the moſt ſalutary remedies, but alſo the moſt ſubtile poiſons; and that the king, like an able apothecary, ought to make the beſt advantage of both, by mixing them in the moſt proper manner. In regard to the propoſitions which I ſhould make to the Engliſh miniſters, he ſaid, I ought to be cautious not to expoſe the ſovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the ſhame of having made advances which ſhould be neglected or deſpiſed, and perhaps to a neceſſity of revenging them: and as to the more ſecret propoſitions, which, at proper opportunity, I ſhould make to king James, he ſaid it would require great judgment and dexterity, to avoid haſtening, by any imprudent ſtep, his engagements with Spain, which as yet were, perhaps, uncertain, or, at leaſt, far from being concluded. His majeſty ſuppoſed, that all cauſes of diſſatisfaction might, as much as it was poſſible, be obviated, by giving me, in writing, and in open council, ſuch inſtructions, in regard to my embaſſy, as ſhould appear to be only general, and merely complimentary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, ſhould not prevent my ſeconding his majeſty's more particular intentions, whenever a favourable opportunity might preſent; provided, nevertheleſs, that I did it as of myſelf, and without giving this prince

prince to underſtand, that I was authoriſed herein by the king my maſter. 1603.

What his majeſty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of ſuch great conſequence, that I deſired him to grant me four days to conſider of it, before I gave him my anſwer. I immediately ſet out poſt for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflexions, and Henry departed from thence for Jully. I eaſily perſuaded myſelf to comply with the king's deſires, but I thought it a neceſſary precaution to have his majeſty's more immediate avowal and authority for all theſe propoſitions which he had enjoined me to make to the king of England, as of myſelf, without which I thought it would be riſking too much. To be favourably received and heard by king James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence, to which my religion gave me the beſt claim; but I was ſenſible, that, by this, I ſhould be obliged to break through thoſe bounds of circumſpection, which, in France, I had preſcribed to myſelf, out of a deference to the religion of the prince. I had no reaſon to doubt but that, whatever words might eſcape me, which in this reſpect ſhould appear ſomewhat free, would be as induſtriouſly reported by the enemies I ſhould have in that court, as they could have been in France; and I had equal cauſe for being apprehenſive, that ſomething of this kind ſhould be afterwards repreſented in ſuch a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his majeſty, who, as well as other good princes, had his moments of miſtruſt and ill humour; and ſometimes one of theſe moments is ſufficient to ruin a miniſter, however firmly ſupported; a reverſe of fortune which it was not impoſſible but I myſelf might experience.

All theſe conſiderations confirmed me in a reſolution not to depart without a writing ſigned by his majeſty and known only to us two, whereby, whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expreſſions I might uſe to the

1603. king of England, I might be able, if neceſſary, to juſtify myſelf, and ſhew that I had done nothing but to promote the ſucceſs of our affairs, and that by his majeſty's expreſs orders. Thus I declared myſelf to Henry, when, at the end of four days, he came to the arſenal to receive my anſwer; though indeed I made this declaration no otherwiſe than by ſaying, that I was full of fears leſt any part of my conduct, on this occaſion, ſhould draw upon me the misfortune of his diſpleaſure.

We were at this inſtant alone. Henry, after having taken a ſhort turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his cuſtom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My propoſal gave him a moment's thought, after which he confeſſed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himſelf the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expreſſed in ſuch terms, as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me to make it public. I was permitted to appear, to the king of England and his miniſters, ſo zealous for the reformed religion, as to give them aſſurances that I preferred it both to my country and king, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the king of England. The propoſitions which I was to make this prince were alſo enumerated, but I ſhall omit them here, as being already related in the account of my conference with queen Elizabeth, and of Henry's grand deſign: I was alſo directed to deſire the king of England, in caſe he ſhould not approve of what I had to propoſe to him, not to let it be known in France, becauſe I was not authoriſed to make any ſuch propoſitions; and further (ſuppoſing king James approved them) I ſhould feign to defer communicating to the king my maſter what might be agreed between us, till I ſhould ſee whether it would be as favourably

favourably received by the northern crowns, and the ſtates-general of the United-Provinces, as by his Britannic majeſty. 1603.

Such was my ſecret credential letter, which I then conſidered as a great acquiſition, and no doubt the king, on his ſide, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain, that by this we had neither of us done what was ſufficient. It was neceſſary to be prepared for the king of England's abſolute and entire compliance with all his majeſty's intentions, and to be able to make the beſt of an opportunity, which perhaps might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank ſigned by the king; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in council did ſcarce permit us even to think of this.

In regard to the general inſtructions which I have mentioned, the king deferred having them drawn up till he came to Fontainebleau, for which place he ſet out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow: but they were countermanded on occaſion of a violent diſorder, which ſeized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau, which was about the twentieth of May *: this was ſo ſtrong a retention of urine, that his phyſicians at firſt deſpaired of his life. The king himſelf was ſtrongly perſuaded that his laſt hour approached, and being deſirous to divide the few moments which he had yet to live, between the care of his ſoul, and that of his kingdom, he addreſſed himſelf with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately diſ-

* The king, ſays the marechal de Baſſompierre, was ſeized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecoſt which gave him great pain, but he was ſoon freed from it. The phyſicians being aſſembled, (theſe are the words which we find in the Journal de L'Etoile) the reſult of their conſultations were in theſe terms; *Abſtineat à quævis muliere, etiam regina; ſin minus, periculum eſt ne ante tres menſes elapſos vitam cum morte commutet.* Henry the IVth did not ſtrictly obſerve what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad conſequence ariſe therefrom.

1603. patched to me at Paris, where I was making the neceſſary preparations for my voyage, and little expected ſo melancholy a meſſage. "My friend, I "find myſelf ſo ill, that it ſeems highly probable "God will ſoon diſpoſe of me; and it being my "duty, next to the care of my ſoul, to make the "neceſſary diſpoſitions to ſecure the ſucceſſion to "my children, that their reign may be proſperous, "and may promote the happineſs of my wife, my "kingdom, my good and faithful ſervants, and "my dear people, whom I love equally with my "own children, I deſire to confer with you on all "theſe matters: come to me therefore with all di-"ligence, and ſay nothing of it to any one; make "an appearance only of going to the conventicle "at Ablon; and having privately ordered poſt-"horſes to be there in readineſs, proceed immedi-"ately to this place."

The peruſal of this moſt ſenſibly affected me. I ſet out with the greateſt precipitation. When I entered the king's chamber, I found him in his bed; the queen was ſeated by him, and held one of his hands between hers; he held out the other to me, and ſaid, "My good friend, draw near and em-"brace me, I am extremely glad you are come; "is it not ſtrange that, two hours after I wrote to "you, my exceſſive pains ſhould begin to abate? "I hope, by degrees, they will entirely leave me, "for I have made water three times, the laſt moſt "profuſely, and with but little pain." Then turning to the queen, "This, ſaid he, of all my ſervants, "is he who beſt underſtands, and is moſt careful "of, the interior affairs of my kingdom, and, had "I been taken from you, would have been beſt "able to ſerve both you and my children: I know, "indeed, that his temper is ſomewhat auſtere, "that he is often rather too plain for ſuch a ſpirit "as yours, and that, on this account, many have "endeavoured to prejudice you and my chil-"dren againſt him, that he might be removed

" from you; but if ever this event ſhould happen, 1603.
" and you ſhould employ ſuch and ſuch perſons
" (naming them ſoftly in her ear) and, inſtead of
" following the good counſels of this man, ſhould
" be wholly guided by their opinions, depend upon
" it, it will prove deſtructive to the ſtate, and may,
" perhaps, ruin my children and yourſelf. I have
" ſent thus ſuddenly for him, that, with him and
" you, I might conſult upon the means to prevent
" theſe evils, but I thank God my precautions will
" probably not yet be neceſſary."

Couriers upon couriers were the next day diſpatched, to diſſipate the diſagreeable rumours which were already ſpread in all places. I did not myſelf return to Paris, till I had ſeen the king make water: he would have it ſo; and he did it twice with ſuch facility, that I was perfectly ſatisfied all danger was over. Three days after I received a letter from him, wherein he informed me, that, having been bled in the left arm by La Rivierie the evening I left him, he had been greatly relieved, and, having reſted well the whole night, found himſelf grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the intereſt I ſeemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this occaſion, I had been free enough to give him, to be more moderate in hunting; and he promiſed to obſerve what I had ſaid. He was already able to be as circumſtantial as uſual in thoſe details with which his letters were commonly filled: he directed me in this, to ſend two hundred crowns to each of the perſons afflicted with the evil, whom his own diſorder had prevented him from touching, and whom nevertheleſs he would not ſend back. Herein alſo, he thanked me for the portraits of the new king and queen of England, which I had ſent him. His majeſty's phyſicians were unanimous, on this occaſion, in making him the ſame repreſentations which I had done, in regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exerciſe in hunting. He

1603. followed their advice, and found himſelf conſiderably better for it: he alſo received great benefit from the waters of Pougues, which he drank this year for ſome time, during which the young princeſs his daughter was taken ſo ill, that her life was deſpaired of; both the king and the dauphin his ſon went frequently to ſee her.

Together with this letter from his majeſty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroy wrote to me by his order, upon the affairs of England. Herein he informed me, that his majeſty had ſent to acquaint the count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the king of England; alſo that I was expected by his Britannic majeſty, who attributed my delay to the king's indiſpoſition, and to the baron Du-Tour's not having notified to the king in form, the death of Elizabeth, and the acceſſion of James the VIth * to the crown of England. The baron Du-Tour was, for this purpoſe, ſent by James to his moſt chriſtian majeſty: he left London on the day after this prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau,

* Henry Stuart, baron of Darnly, duke of Rotheſay, &c. eſpouſed Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II. of France; ſhe having after his death retired into Scotland. He was ſtrangled in his bed in 1567. James Stuart, at firſt king of Scotland, and afterwards of England, was his ſon, and died in 1625. On his acceſſion to the crown of England, the marquis of Roſny wrote the following complimentary letter to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, at that time his ambaſſador in France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the preſent duke of Sully.

To the Scots ambaſſador.

SIR,

" The intereſt you have in the " proſperity of the affairs of the " king of Scotland, joined to the " deſire I have to do you ſervice, " have induced me to write to you, " that by the letter which I have " juſt received from the governor " of Dieppe, you might be informed of the deceaſe of the queen of " England, of the acceſſion, reception, and acknowledgment of " the king of Scotland, to that " crown, and that all things there " are in a ſtate of peace and tranquillity; for which I rejoice " with you, it being highly beneficial to all, and the deſire of every good man.

" SIR,

" Your moſt humble couſin " and ſervant."

Signed ROSNY.

where

where he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion. Villeroi further informed me, that my departure for England, for theſe reaſons, being no longer to be deferred, the king would ſoon ſend for me, and inform me of the day: but his majeſty changed his intention in this reſpect, and came himſelf to Paris. The heat which had begun early this year was exceſſive, and rendered the ſands of Fontainebleau inſupportable to one but juſt recovering from ſickneſs. 1603.

Two days after his majeſty's arrival at Paris, he aſſembled the chancellor Bellievre, Villeroi, Maiſſe, and Sillery, on the ſubject of my departure, and that I might receive my public inſtructions in their preſence. When I entered the king's cloſet, where this counſel was held, I told his majeſty that the count of Soiſſons was in the chamber without, and that it appeared to me neceſſary that he likewiſe ſhould be introduced to be a witneſs of my deputation. Henry replied, that he did not know the count was there; and that, from what I had juſt ſaid, he would take occaſion to reconcile us to each other; for the count of Soiſſon's reſentment ſtill ſubſiſted. Accordingly, the count meeting me two days after, as I entered the palace, told me, that he had learned from a good hand that I had rendered him an office which he had no reaſon to expect from me; he thanked me for it, aſſured me that he would forget the paſt, and for the future would be my friend: but he did not long continue in theſe ſentiments.

The principal object of theſe inſtructions had always been a cloſe alliance between France and England againſt Spain, notwithſtanding all that had been done to prevent it by the partiſans of that crown in France. The principal difference between theſe, and the ſecret inſtructions which I had received from his majeſty, was, that in the former he had concealed the true motives to this alliance: I will not tranſcribe them here, as the the particulars would be too long and circumſtantial. The ſubſtance of them

1603. them was briefly as follows: to take every opportunity of diſcourſing upon, and informing the king of England, of all the unjuſt and violent proceedings of Spain, thereby to inſpire him with an averſion to that crown: to repreſent the various arts employed by her to embroil Europe; her new uſurpations in Italy; her ſecret practices in England, by means of the Jeſuits; her intrigues in Ireland and Scotland, under the ſanction of the authority which the pope pretends to have over thoſe kingdoms; her deſigns upon Straſbourg, by forcing the cardinal of Lorrain to conſent to the pope's giving the coadjutorſhip of it to the brother-in-law of the catholic king; finally, her proceedings to obtain univerſal monarchy: all which did but too evidently appear.

In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, the king of England muſt either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or ſecret war againſt that crown: in the firſt caſe, I was to convince this prince, that a peace would enable Spain to get poſſeſſion of the Low Countries: after which, ſhe would not fail to turn her arms either againſt France or England; and moſt probably towards the latter, on account of the pope's long inveteracy to it. I was alſo to undeceive the king of England, in regard to the report induſtriouſly ſpread by Spain, that ſhe had no intention to get poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a diſtinct kingdom, ſuch as that of Burgundy had been, to be given to the arch-duke. As a laſt reſource, I was to inſiſt, that Spain ſhould at leaſt be made to purchaſe this peace at a high price, or ſhould be obliged to the king of France or England for it; and eſpecially that ſhe ſhould give up Oſtend. In caſe an open war ſhould be reſolved upon, I was to endeavour to diſcover the intention of the king of England on that head, and if poſſible prevent it, and repreſent to him the neceſſity of beginning by giving a powerful aſſiſtance to the States.

Finally,

Finally, if a ſecret war was reſolved upon, in which I was to uſe my endeavours to confirm or engage the king of England, in this caſe I was to repreſent to him, that prudence required he ſhould begin by ſtrengthening himſelf upon the throne, ſecuring it to his deſcendants, and by gaining Europe in his intereſts; ſo that Spain might be one day irreſiſtibly attacked: that till this was effected, it would be proper only to keep this power in awe, or engage her in a fruitleſs employment of her forces againſt Flanders; that in the mean time the conditions of the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children of the two kings; which, however, ſhould not be declared till they had begun the execution of their deſigns. I was moreover to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the ſuccours which were proviſionally to be given the States; and prevent the Engliſh council from demanding the three hundred thouſand livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, leſt they might thereby be induced to throw themſelves into the arms of Spain: on the contrary, I was to perſuade his Britannic majeſty to be at new expences, equal with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in favour of theſe people, and to aſſiſt them with the ſame number of ſhips as queen Elizabeth had done; alſo to obtain permiſſion, that the four hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which this queen had lent France, might be applied as exigencies ſhould require in Flanders; and that three hundred thouſand livres more might be added to them by England, that, with the ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand livres which Henry obliged himſelf to join to them, a fund might be formed of fifteen hundred thouſand livres for the preſent neceſſities of the States-General. In caſe I could not gain a compliance with theſe articles, I was to endeavour to get the States debt to England of three hundred thouſand livres diſcharged, France obliging herſelf to pay it; alſo, to manage this affair in ſuch a manner, 1603.

ner,

1603. ner, that the king of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as ſecurities for theſe ſuccours; and to ſound his intentions in regard to thoſe of which he was already poſſeſſed in Zealand. In purſuance of this plan, I was to conſult with Barnevelt, to act in concert with him and the States deputies at London, ſeem attached to their intereſts, entertain them with agreeable hopes, perſuade them that their intereſts were the care of the Britiſh council, without giving umbrage to this council, and make the beſt advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the king.

Theſe were the principal points of my inſtructions: there were ſome others which did not relate to the ſame ſubject, or at leaſt not immediately; ſuch was that in regard to the piracies of the Engliſh. I was charged to complain, that ſince the treaty of Vervins they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a diſſolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being diſadvantageous to France, which by that treaty had not the ſame privileges and immunities in England that the Engliſh had in France. The cloſe union between Elizabeth and Henry had cauſed all things to be equal on both ſides during the reign of that queen, and his treaty was then conſidered as void, though it had never been formally annulled. My orders were, however, to be extremely circumſpect on this head, and even to entirely ſuppreſs it, if I found that by bringing it upon the carpet I might run any riſque of raiſing a ſuſpicion in the new king, from which Elizabeth herſelf had not been exempt, that France only ſought to embark England in a war with Spain, out of which ſhe would then eaſily extricate herſelf. If what the baron Du-Tour had ſaid in France, of his Britannic majeſty's reſolution to ſuccour Oſtend, ſhould appear to be well-grounded,

ed, I might then ſpare myſelf part of theſe precautions. 1603.

The manner in which I was to treat with the ambaſſadors of the king of Spain and the arch-dukes; the attention which I was to beſtow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the juſtification of Beaumont, againſt whom king James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the ſame privileges of this prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: theſe were other articles of my inſtructions. There was one article concerning the duke of Bouillon, in reſpect to whom I was to be ſilent, unleſs the king of England ſhould ſpeak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the elector Palatine; and in this caſe I was to paint the duke of Bouillon in his real character, and not to engage the king of France in any thing on this account. We may obſerve, that the ſubject of my negotiations were ſufficiently extenſive, for I was to gain a knowledge of the diſpoſitions of the king and people of England, not only with reſpect to Spain and Flanders, but alſo to the northern crowns: to ſay the truth, the political ſtate of all Europe was concerned in my enſuing conduct and its conſequences.

Theſe inſtructions *, in which, to my other titles, his majeſty had added that of marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in preſence of the count of Soiſſons, Sillery, and Jeannin, ſigned by his majeſty and Villeroi. Henry alſo gave me ſix letters, one from his majeſty to the king of England, beſides another for the ſame prince for form-ſake counter-ſigned; two others, in the ſame manner, from the king to the queen of Eng-

* The original of theſe inſtructions, ſigned with Henry IV's own hand, is ſtill in being; as alſo another piece, written by M. de Roſny, bearing this title, *A memorandum made by me, and delivered to M. de Villeroi, according to his deſire, to aſſiſt him in preparing my inſtructions.* This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embaſſy to London. Cabinet of the duke of Sully.

land,

1603. land, and two others from the queen of France to the king and queen of England: his majeſty alſo gave me a cypher, with which the council was acquainted; but he likewiſe ſecretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of this prince, he preſented me his hand to kiſs, then embraced me and wiſhed me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good ſucceſs.

The beginning of June I ſet out for Calais, where I was to embark, having with me a retinue of upwards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themſelves ſuch, of whom a conſiderable number were really of the firſt diſtinction. Juſt before my departure old Servin came and preſented his ſon to me, and begged I would uſe my endeavours to make him a man of ſome worth and honeſty; but he confeſſed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of underſtanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man was in the right: what he told me having excited my curioſity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monſter; for I can give no other idea of that aſſemblage of the moſt excellent and moſt pernicious qualities. Let the reader repreſent to himſelf a man of a genius ſo lively, and an underſtanding ſo extenſive, as rendered him ſcarce ignorant of any thing that could be known; of ſo vaſt and ready a comprehenſion, that he immediately made himſelf maſter of what he attempted: and of ſo prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he poſſeſſed all parts of philoſophy and the mathematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was ſo well ſkilled, that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able diſputant for and againſt the reformed religion indifferently; he not only underſtood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which

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we call learned, but alſo all the different jargons or modern dialects; he accented and pronounced them ſo naturally, and ſo perfectly imitated the geſtures and manners both of the ſeveral nations of Europe, and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of theſe countries; and this quality he applied to counterfeit all ſorts of perſons, wherein he ſucceeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the beſt comedian and greateſt droll that perhaps ever appeared; he had a genius for poetry, and had wrote many verſes; he played upon almoſt all inſtruments, was a perfect maſter of muſic, and ſung moſt agreeably and juſtly; he likewiſe could ſay maſs; for he was of a diſpoſition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well ſuited to his mind; he was light, nimble, dextrous, and fit for all exerciſes; he could ride well, and in dancing, wreſtling, and leaping, he was admired: there are not any recreative games that he did not know; and he was ſkilled in almoſt all mechanic arts. But now for the reverſe of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard and glutton; a ſharper in play, immerſed in every ſpecies of vice, a blaſphemer, an atheiſt: in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and ſociety; the truth of which he himſelf evinced with his lateſt breath, for he died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with a glaſs in his hand, curſing and denying God. 1603.

From the moment of my departure to that of my return, I wrote regularly to his majeſty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I uſed only the common character; my general cyphers I uſed for ſuch matters as were to be known only to the council; and my ſecret cypher I employed in what I addreſſed to the king himſelf

1603. himſelf, which was to be ſeen only by him: his majeſty choſe to have the greateſt part of my letters in this cypher, though he found the difficulty of decyphering ſo great, that he at laſt entruſted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himſelf well ſkilled in it; but the difficulty which I experienced myſelf in the uſe of this cypher, whenever I wanted to deſcend to particulars, compelled me to abridge the ordinary length of my letters: however, I complied with his majeſty's deſires in this reſpect as well as I could, more eſpecially after the affair of the loſt diſpatch. All theſe letters, which I have preſerved, I ſhall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumſtance relative to my embaſſy at London, and my negotiations with king James.

I ſtayed a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and ſome others who had honoured me with their company. I found the vice-admiral * of France ready to receive me: and the vice-admirals of England and Holland alſo came and deſired I would embark in their ſhips. The report current at Calais, of the good underſtanding between the Engliſh and Spaniards, occaſioned by what had paſſed at the embarkation of count d'Aremberg, ambaſſador from the arch-dukes, and the complaints which I ſaw made to De-Vic, of the enterpriſes of the Engliſh cruizers upon the coaſts of France, inclined me at firſt to refuſe their offers; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont, concerning what I was told, to prejudice me againſt the new court of London, I changed my deſign in this reſpect; and that I might not begin by giving them any cauſe of complaint, I accepted the two veſſels offered me by the Engliſh vice-admiral.

* Dominic De-Vic, ſignior d'Ermenonville, governor of Saint-Denis, Calais, and Amiens, vice admiral of France: he died in 1610.

I embarked the 15th of June at ſix o'clock in the morning. The Engliſh, by whom I was ſerved, paid me a reſpect which appeared to me to degenerate into ſervility: but I had very ſoon reaſon to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they deſired I would command them in every reſpect as if they were of my own nation, De-Vic, who only ſought an opportunity of ſhewing the Engliſh his reſentment of the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his main-top-gallant-maſt, I found theſe complaiſant Engliſh were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the king of England, and the king of France, whom I repreſented: and I had reaſon to think them ſtill more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to conſult me, fifty ſhot were immediately fired againſt De-Vic's † ſhip. It was 1603.

† Thuanus and the Septenary Chronology, whoſe teſtimony hereupon is of great weight, more eſpecially as they agree in it, both ſay, that the captain of the Engliſh ſhip in which de Roſny was, did actually fire upon the French vice-admiral. But as I ſuſpect our Memoirs, either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have ſomewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above-mentioned: "De-Vic, vice-admiral of France, ſoon after he had caſt anchor in Dover-road (at which place he had landed part of the retinue of M. de Roſny) ſailed from thence on his return to Calais, and paſſing by the ſhip on board of which M. de Roſny then was, he ordered his flag to be hoiſted, and gave him a ſalute; ſoon after which, the flag was again taken in. The Engliſh captain of the ſhip where-in M. de Roſny was, ſeeing the French flag hoiſted, commanded his men to fire upon the vice-admiral of France, ſwearing he would ſuffer no flag to be ſeen in theſe ſeas but that of England. A gun was immediately fired upon De-Vic's ſhip, who, having demanded the reaſon of it, prepared to defend himſelf. M. de Roſny complained of it to the Engliſh captain, and repreſented the firing this ſhot as an offence done to himſelf; but he talked to a man who refuſed to hear reaſon, and who anſwered him only with rage and fury; he was therefore forced to ſubmit, and made a ſign to the vice-admiral of France to take in his flag, which he did. De-Vic thinking himſelf injured, demanded ſatisfaction of the Engliſh admiral; who anſwered him, that the king of England, his maſter, did not permit what the captain had preſumed to do, deſired that he would excuſe his indiſcretion, &c. and promiſed that no like it ſhould ever happen again. This reply appeaſed and quieted all parties." Chron. Septen. and

with

1603. with great difficulty that I made myſelf heard; which, however, I at laſt effected, by repreſenting to them, that De-Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour; and alſo to give me a more diſtinguiſhed mark of his reſpect, by dropping his flag upon my firſt command ſo to do. I thought it would be moſt prudent to do this; and my Engliſh hearing what I ſaid, were ſo far prevailed upon by it, as to make their next diſcharge at random. I made a ſignal to De-Vic, which he perfectly well underſtood, and took in his flag; but, as I was afterwards told, he ſwore at the ſame time to be revenged on the Engliſh whenever he ſhould again meet with them. Though I much queſtion, had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened: be that however as it will, the diſpute was ended by this means, and our paſſage met with no further interruption.

I arrived at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were there waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the ſame office in England, which Gondy had in

Thuanus, an. 1603. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Teſtament Politique, makes uſe of this as an argument, to demonſtrate to Lewis XIII. the abſolute neceſſity there was for a naval power: "The cannon-ſhot, "ſays he, by piercing the veſſel, "pierced the hearts of all true "Frenchmen; and if the words "of king James were civil, yet "were they of no other effect, "than to oblige the duke of Sully "to obtain his ſatisfaction from "his own prudence, by feigning to "be contented, tho' his diſcontent, "and his reaſon for it, was really "greater, and farther from being "removed than ever. The king, "your father, was under a neceſ"ſity to uſe diſſimulation on this "occaſion, but he did it with the "reſolution, whenever it might "again be neceſſary, to maintain "the juſt rights of his crown by "ſuch a naval force as time would "furniſh him with the means to "acquire." Part II. chap. ix. In regard to the fact, which is alſo related in the Teſtament, the circumſtances are told in a manner almoſt entirely different. We may farther obſerve, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he ſpeaks of the ſatisfaction which he deſired king of James to grant him, paſſes it over very ſlightly; doubtleſs, becauſe he would not appear to have been ſo very grievouſly offended as perhaps he really was.

France,

France, being that part of the reception of ambaſſadors, which conſiſts in providing them with lodging, proviſions, horſes, or chariots, and other things of this nature: the mayor of Dover alſo came and complimented me; and the acclamations of the people were ſo great, that it was ſaid, that nothing like it had ever before been ſeen for any ambaſſador. But I was not now to be impoſed upon by theſe appearances, having ſo lately received a different ſpecimen of the Engliſh politeneſs, of which I had another example, even before my departure from Dover. 1603.

The governor of this place ſent his nephew to me, to deſire I would come with him and ſee the caſtle, he not being able to wait on me himſelf, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a ſecond, from which I conceived a good opinion of the perſon by whom they were ſent; and I thought the imputation of want of civility might juſtly have fallen upon myſelf, had I after this quitted Dover, without waiting on the governor. I therefore went to the caſtle the next day, with all my retinue; but I ſoon diſcovered, that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the pecuniary reward exacted of thoſe who have the curioſity to ſee the caſtle of Dover. This was demanded of every one of my retinue, and that too rudely enough, which was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myſelf, quit their ſwords. Being introduced to the governor, whoſe name was Thomas Wymes, he received us ſeated in his chair, but, perceiving that ſome of us were looking at the towers and walls of the caſtle, he put on ſo ſour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid leſt our preſence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at any thing further. I had exhorted my retinue, whatever might be ſaid or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeneſs; and this proved to be no unneceſſary caution.

1602. When we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer ſhewed himſelf that polite and obliging perſon, who but juſt before had demanded a liſt of thoſe who accompanied me, that, as he ſaid, they might all be furniſhed with the neceſſary horſes and chariots: and I could not but ſuppoſe his ſole deſign, in getting this liſt, was, that he might ſend it to London; for he ſuffered all my retinue to provide themſelves horſes as well as they could, and at their own coſt; and theſe mild people lent them at ſo high a price, and at the ſame time with ſo much arrogance, that they ſeemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our ſentiments of ſo rude a treatment. My own conveyance I procured in the coach of the count of Beaumont.

I had more reaſon to be pleaſed with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury: they came to meet me upon the road, and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and reſpects, they pretended to have received orders ſo to do from the king of England. Canterbury is but a ſmall city, but extremely populous, and ſo polite that, in no other place I received ſuch diſtinguiſhed honours and civilities as there; ſome came to kiſs my boot, others to kiſs my hands, and others to make me preſents of flowers; all which muſt be attributed not to the Engliſh of this city (they every where preſerve their character of averſion for the French) but to the Walloons and Flemiſh, who, having at many different times taken refuge in this city on account of their religion, have at laſt almoſt entirely changed it, and at this day compoſe two thirds of its inhabitants. I viſited the church, and was preſent at the ſervice, wherein the muſic was excellent. The church is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons underſtood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their careſſes and civilities: one of them ſhewed himſelf ſo well affected to France,

as

as to give me an information of ſome conſequence, 1603.
which was afterwards confirmed by Aërſens to Henry himſelf. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me, as one of my ſecretaries; and being informed that this was the ſon of his old friend, he came to ſee him, and among other things, told him, that he had been informed by the ſecretary of count Aremberg *, ambaſſador from the archduke, who had paſſed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his maſter was charged to repreſent to the king of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great deſigns againſt England, which would openly appear in leſs than two years; and, at the ſame time, to make offers to his Britannic majeſty of powerful ſuccours from the king of Spain, with which he might prevent the deſigns that Henry meditated, by ſeizing certain provinces of France, on which the king of England had much juſter pretenſions, than any Henry could have upon England.

Here my lord Sidney came and complimented me from the king of England, and made me many obliging offers of ſervice. I knew that the perſon who had been charged with the ſame commiſſion to count d'Aremberg, was my lord Howard, whoſe rank was much ſuperior to Sidney's, being the duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the great chamberlain, and member of the privy council: at firſt, therefore, I was apprehenſive that this deputation might be a mark of ſome contempt from the king of England; but, afterwards reflecting that the quality of the perſon who had received the ambaſſador from Spain was inferior even to Sidney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more eſpecially as I could not receive greater honours than thoſe which Sidney, and others by his

* John de Ligne, prince of Barbancon, count of Aremberg,

1602. direction, paid me. I nevertheleſs communicated my thoughts hereupon to Beaumont, by deſiring him to get an explanation of it, but to do it with ſuch addreſs, that no cauſe might be given to perceive a miſunderſtanding, where, perhaps, none was intended to be ſhewn. Beaumont addreſſed himſelf to Sidney himſelf, and managed the affair with him ſo well, that he immediately wrote to the court of London, to inform them that they ſhould ſend an earl of the privy council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The earl of Southampton, one of the miniſters and confidents of king James, came to me from that prince at Graveſend, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. In our way to Graveſend we paſſed through Rocheſter, where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks which were placed by the king of England's meſſengers on thoſe houſes where we were to be entertained and lodged if neceſſary.

At Graveſend I was received in the king of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of theſe I was carried up the Thames to London, where, upon my arrival, the Tower alone ſaluted us with upwards of three thouſand guns, beſides the diſcharges from ſeveral ſhip-guns, and the muſquetry from the mole and fort before this tower: I ſcarce ever heard a finer ſalute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, of which Southampton and Sidney performed the honours, were ready to carry me, and all my retinue, to the houſe of the count of Beaumont, which I had choſen for the day. The confluence of people was ſo great, that we could ſcarce open ourſelves a paſſage.

This very evening, I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two Engliſh lords who had been ſent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, my lord Southampton took

took me aſide, and having told me, that the king, who was at Windſor, a caſtle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him there that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earneſtly deſired, having firſt expreſſed to me his zeal, that I would impart ſomething to him which he might communicate to his majeſty, no doubt with an intention to do himſelf honour by it, and gain the favour of that prince: after him my lord Sidney came and made me the ſame requeſt, by ingeniouſly telling me, that he hoped the honour which he had received by being firſt deputed to me, and the reſpect and attachment which he had for his moſt chriſtian majeſty, might merit my reſerving for him at leaſt ſome part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I ſhould not diſcloſe myſelf entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived theſe gentlemen had a mutual jealouſy of each other, and contended who ſhould be the firſt that ſhould give the king any informations. I very civilly thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sidney; that is to ſay the former received only falſe, and the latter nothing farther than general informations of but little conſequence, and ſuch as I ſhould have been glad to ſee publiſhed. 1603.

They both made what uſe of them they thought proper: as to myſelf I ſupped and lay this evening at Beaumont's, and I dined there the next day; for ſo ſhort a time had not been ſufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings, till the palace of Arundel, which was deſtined for me, could be got ready. This palace was one of the fineſt, and from its great number of apartments upon the ſame floor, the moſt commodious in London: but this greatly embarraſſed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houſes and apartments were ſought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them; for the inhabitants refuſed to receive us, on account of the miſbehaviour which they had but

1603. lately experienced in ſome of marechal Biron's people; the greateſt part therefore had like to have been obliged to paſs the night in the ſtreet.

It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that, if what I heard on this ſubject was true, Biron, by the exceſſes which he had ſuffered his whole retinue to commit, had not ineffectually laboured to juſtify the animoſity of the Engliſh nation againſt us. I am accuſtomed to ſpeak my ſentiments freely, and never more ſo than when they may be of uſe in correcting our manners. The youth of our nation have not yet diveſted themſelves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor thoſe licentious and even audacious manners, with which we have, in all ages, been reproached: unfortunately too they are not more circumſpect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accuſtomed to ſpend their lives at gaming-tables, and other places of debauchery, and run into boundleſs exceſſes.

I was fully reſolved, that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it ſhould not, at leaſt, be incurred by thoſe over whom I had authority: and I determined to exerciſe this authority in ſuch a manner, as to oblige all my people to a ſtrict regularity of behaviour: but in theſe caſes precepts are ſeldom effectual; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportunity happened almoſt immediately.

I was the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handſome houſe, ſituate in a great ſquare, near which all my retinue were alſo provided with the neceſſary lodgings; ſome of them went to entertain themſelves with common women of the town: at the ſame place they met with ſome Engliſh, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the Engliſh was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced againſt us, being excited by the family of the deceaſed, who was a ſubſtantial citizen, aſſembled, and began loudly to threaten revenge upon all the French, even in their lodgings.

The

The affair ſoon began to appear of great conſe- 1603.
quence; for the number of people aſſembled upon
the occaſion was preſently increaſed to upwards of
three thouſand, which obliged the French to fly for
an aſylum into the houſe of the ambaſſador. I did
not at firſt take notice of it; the evening advanced,
and I was playing at primero with the marquis
D'Oraiſon, Saint-Luc, and Blerencourt; but, ob-
ſerving them come in at different times by three and
four together, and with great emotion, I at laſt
imagined ſomething extraordinary had happened,
and, having queſtioned Terrail and Gadancourt,
they informed me of the particulars.

The honour of my nation, my own in particu-
lar, and the intereſt of my negotiation, were the
firſt objects that preſented themſelves to my mind.
I was alſo moſt ſenſibly grieved, that my entry into
London ſhould be marked at the beginning by ſo
fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am per-
ſuaded, my countenance plainly expreſſed the ſen-
timents with which I was agitated. Guided by my
firſt impulſe, I aroſe, took a flambeaux, and, or-
dering all that were in the houſe (which was about
a hundred) to range themſelves round the walls,
hoped, by this means, to diſcover the murderer,
which I did without any difficulty by his agitation
and fear: he was for denying it at firſt, but I ſoon
obliged him to confeſs the truth. He was a young
man, and the ſon of the ſieur de Combaut, prin-
cipal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinſ-
man likewiſe of Beaumont's, who entering that mo-
ment, deſired me to give young Combaut into
his hands, that he might endeavour to ſave him.
" I do not wonder," replied I to Beaumont, with
an air of authority and indignation, " that the
" Engliſh and you are at variance, if you are ca-
" pable of preferring the intereſt of yourſelf and
" your relations, to that of the king and the pub-
" lic: but the ſervice of the king my maſter, and
" the ſafety of ſo many gentlemen of good fami-

1603. "lies, ſhall not ſuffer for ſuch an imprudent ſtrip-
"ling as this." I told Beaumont, in plain terms, that Combaut ſhould be beheaded in a few minutes. "How, ſir, cried Beaumont, behead a kinſman of "mine, poſſeſſed of two hundred thouſand crowns, "an only ſon; it is but an ill recompence for the "trouble he has given himſelf, and the expence he "has been at to accompany you." I again replied, in as poſitive a tone, "I had no occaſion for ſuch "company:" and, to be ſhort, I deſired Beaumont to quit my apartment; for I thought it would be improper to have him preſent in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce ſentence of death upon Combaut.

In this council, I made choice only of the oldeſt and the wiſeſt of my retinue, and the affair being preſently determined, I ſent Arnaud to inform the mayor of London of it, and to deſire him to have his officers ready the next day, to conduct the culprit to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The mayor returned me for anſwer, that his firſt care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him juſtice, and that he was juſt coming to demand it of me, when he received my letter and the ſentence: he moreover exhorted me to moderate it, either becauſe my ſeverity had diſarmed his, or, which ſeemed moſt probable, becauſe he had already ſuffered himſelf to be gained by preſents from the friends of the criminal. I ſent again to this magiſtrate to inform him, that as no ſuperior authority, nor reſpect for any perſon whatever, had determined me to pronounce this ſentence, I could not conſent to revoke it; that, by carrying it into execution, I ſhould juſtify the king my maſter, and give the Engliſh nation a convincing proof, that I had done every thing upon the occaſion which my duty required; therefore in ſuch an affair, I could only acquit myſelf of it by committing it to him, and by reſigning the priſoner to ſuch puniſhment as

juſtice and the laws of England required. I accordingly ſent Combaut to him; ſo that the whole procedure became a particular affair between the mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who, without much difficulty, obtained this magiſtrate's conſent to ſet Combaut at liberty, a favour which none could impute to me: on the contrary, I perceived both the French and Engliſh ſeemed to think, that, if the affair had been determined by me, it would not have ended ſo well for Combaut; and the conſequence of this to me, with reſpect to the Engliſh and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more. 1603.

This removed at leaſt one obſtacle to the ſucceſs of my negotiation; but there ſtill remained many to encounter, from the nation in general, from the king, and from other particular perſons, according as their different intereſts might incline them to traverſe it. It is certain, that the Engliſh hate us, and this hatred is ſo general and inveterate, that one would almoſt be tempted to number it among their natural diſpoſitions; it is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and inſolent, nor more conceited of its ſuperior excellence: were they to be believed, underſtanding and common ſenſe are to be found only among them; they are obſtinately wedded to all their own opinions, and deſpiſe thoſe of every other nation, and to hear others, or ſuſpect themſelves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themſelves than to us, as from hence they are at the mercy of all their caprices: ſometimes one would be induced to think they have contracted all the inſtability of the element by which they are ſurrounded; with them all things muſt ſubmit to the reigning diſpoſitions, and the ſole difference between them and any the moſt inconſtant people in Europe, is, that their inconſtancy proceeds not from lightneſs, but from

1603. from their vanity, which continually ſhews itſelf in a thouſand different ſhapes. Their ſelf-love renders themſelves ſlaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wiſely performed, or firmly reſolved, is at another time deſtroyed, without their knowing, or being able to give a reaſon; they are accordingly ſo undetermined in themſelves, that frequently one would not take them for the ſame perſons, and from hence they themſelves ſometimes appear ſurpriſed on perceiving their own continued irreſolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of ſtate, we ſhall diſcover in them only the laws of pride itſelf, adopted by arrogance or indolence.

From this portrait, it may at firſt appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambaſſador to inſpire them with new reſolutions; and this is true; but then it is only for the preſent moment: this being elapſed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the ſtrongeſt manner. So that a king of France muſt continually have near them a perſon of underſtanding and authority, who might compel them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reaſonable; and even in this caſe, ſuch a perſon would always have their pride to combat, which inſpires them with a belief that they are infinitely ſuperior to all the other nations in Europe *.

France therefore can no more depend on the Engliſh than on any of her other neighbours; her true intereſt and beſt policy is to render her own

* I wiſh, with all my heart, I could have entirely ſuppreſſed every thing in this character, and in this whole relation, ſo little advantageous to a nation, whoſe virtues and genius have rendered it equally well reſpected and eſteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can only ſay, that he has here painted the Engliſh ſuch as they appeared to him at that time: one of the moſt happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of ſciences, is, that thoſe prejudices and partialities which were the cauſe of hatred and jealouſy have hereby been diſſipated.

interior

interior ſtate and condition ſuch as may make her not only entirely independent, but alſo able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her; and this, after all, would only be difficult to miniſters who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence, methods that ought never to be purſued without an abſolute neceſſity: but let the ſovereign ſhew himſelf a lover of peace, diſintereſted in what regards himſelf, and ſtrictly impartial with reſpect to others, he will then be certain to preſerve all his neighbours in that dependance which is only durable, becauſe it conciliates the affections, inſtead of ſubjecting the perſons*. 1603.

I dare farther maintain that peace is the great and common intereſt of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preſerving it between the greater powers, by all the moſt gentle and perſuaſive means; and the greater powers ſhould force the leſſer into it, if neceſſary, by aſſiſting the weak and oppreſſed; this is the only uſe they ought to make of their ſuperiority. When I conſider Europe as compoſed of ſuch civilized people, I cannot but be aſtoniſhed that ſhe ſtill continues to be governed by principles ſo narrow, and cuſtoms ſo barbarous. What is the conſequence of that profound policy of which ſhe is ſo vain, other than her own continual laceration and ruin? War is the reſource in all places and upon all occaſions; ſhe knows no other way, nor conceives any other expedients; it is the ſole reſource of the moſt inconſiderable ſovereign, as well as of the greateſt potentate;

* It is not ſurprizing to hear ſuch reaſoning as this now we have acquired juſter notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at ſo great a degree of glory, that conqueſts can add nothing or but very little to it: but what opinion muſt we conceive of the views and penetration of the duke of Sully, when we behold him eſtabliſhing principles, in appearance ſo improper for the ſtate of miſery and weakneſs, in which the kingdom was at that time, or at leaſt from whence it was but juſt recovered? It is by ſuch true, ſolid, and wiſe maxims as theſe, that the Memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able miniſters have ſince drawn ineſtimable treaſures.

the

1603. the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with leſs noiſe, and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation and frequently alone, that he may ſhew his grandeur, though in reality he only ſhews himſelf more ſignally deſpicable. Why muſt we always impoſe on ourſelves the neceſſity of paſſing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourſe is had to war only for want of a better expedient: nevertheleſs, we have ſo effectually confounded this truth, that we ſeem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to the Engliſh.

The court of London might be conſidered as compoſed of four ſorts of perſons, who formed ſo many different factions; and from this circumſtance only one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of ſuſpicion, miſtruſt, jealouſy, private and even public diſcontents. I ſhall here advance nothing, the truth of which I was not well convinced of, either by my own obſervations, or from the lights I received from the partiſans of France, from thoſe who called themſelves ſuch, from the diſcontented, and, in ſhort, from many other opportunities which occaſionally occurred. The firſt of theſe factions was the Scotch, at the head of which were the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, lord Kintore, and other gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber; they were in the intereſt of France, and endeavoured to engage the king in their party, who ſeemed diſpoſed to ſuffer himſelf to be governed entirely: ſome of them were tolerably ſkilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the buſineſs of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the earl of Lennox in this number, becauſe, though he was equally well inclined to France, he had nevertheleſs a party among the Scots which was ſeparate from that of the earl of Mar, and even oppoſite to it, not indeed in its political principles, but only in a com-

a competition which ſhould have the advantage in the king's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had ſubdivided itſelf into two. 1603.

The ſecond, in all reſpects entirely oppoſite to the former, was the Spaniſh faction: in this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the admiral of that name, the great chamberlain, the maſter of the horſe, the Humes, and others of leſs note. The third was compoſed of a number of old Engliſh, who, conſidering France and Spain as equiponderous, or being equally jealous of theſe two nations, were attached to neither, and ſought to render Flanders independent of both, by reſtoring the antient kingdom of Burgundy. The firſt movers of this faction were the chancellor, the high treaſurer, and Cecil the ſecretary of ſtate, at leaſt, as far as one could judge of a man who was all myſtery; for he ſeparated from, or united with all parties, according as he judged it moſt advantageous to his own particular intereſt: he had borne the principal ſway in the late goverment, and he endeavoured with the ſame ſubtilty to acquire an equal ſhare in the preſent; his experience, joined to his addreſs, had already made him be conſidered by the king and queen as a neceſſary man. Laſtly, there was a fourth faction, compoſed of ſuch as meddled in affairs, without having any connection with thoſe before mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themſelves, unleſs that they would not ſeparate nor unite with any other; their character was purely Engliſh; they breathed a ſpirit of ſedition, and were ready to undertake any thing in favour of novelties, even were it againſt the king himſelf. They had at their head the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Cumberland, lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, and others.

Nothing could as yet be diſcovered with regard to any of theſe factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impoſſible

1603. impoſſible to foretel which would at length obtain the aſcendant, and gain the prince in its intereſts. To judge from appearances, his favour would be diſputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bed-chamber; the firſt, becauſe by their ſuperior knowledge and dexterity they commonly ſucceeded better than others in gaining their maſter; the ſecond, becauſe they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleaſure: but the king's humour and inclinations were not yet ſufficiently known, beſides, that his acceſſion to ſuch a crown as that of England might occaſion ſuch alterations in them as would render any judgment on this head extremely precarious.

All that I had to fear was, leſt, among the different ſentiments with which endeavours would be uſed to inſpire James, thoſe ſhould prove to be moſt difficult that were to attach him to the intereſts of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been conformable to thoſe of the Northern powers, who were for making three diviſions of the houſe of Auſtria; Spain, Germany, and Burgundy: they deteſted the firſt, as being too powerful and enterpriſing; the ſecond they deſpiſed, but would however have been reconciled to it, by diſuniting it from the Pope, Spain, and the Jeſuits; the third was as yet only imaginary, but was what they ſo paſſionately deſired, that they would have ſpared nothing to reſtore it, provided that would have alſo ſeparated its intereſts from thoſe of Spain and Germany, or at leaſt have obliged theſe powers to renounce all pretenſions upon one another.

King James was not ſo well diſpoſed in favour of Henry as Elizabeth had been; he had been informed that Henry, in deriſion, had called him, *Captain of arts and clerk of arms.* There was ſome reaſon to apprehend, that it would be difficult at firſt to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the antient pretences of England upon

France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earneſtly. As to myſelf, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had ſpoke of him in terms not very reſpectful. But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this prince, let me add, that he meant well, was conſcientious, eloquent, and had ſome erudition; though leſs of the latter, than of penetration and a diſpoſition to learning. He loved to hear diſcourſes on ſtate-affairs, and to be entertained with great deſigns, which he himſelf conſidered and diſpoſed with a ſpirit of method and ſyſtem; but he never thought of carrying them farther, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himſelf. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted application in his affairs; all which were ſigns of an eaſy and timid diſpoſition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was farther confirmed by his behaviour to the queen, his wife*. 1603.

The character of this princeſs was quite the reverſe of her huſband's; ſhe was naturally bold and enterprizing; ſhe loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the catholics, whom ſhe ſupported, and had even firſt encouraged, but alſo in England, where the diſcontented, whoſe numbers were very conſiderable, were not ſorry to be ſupported by a princeſs deſtined to become their queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak inſtruments in ſolid affairs, often act a dangerous part in intrigues. The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was ſo weak as never to be able to reſiſt, nor perſonally to contradict her, though ſhe made no ſcruple publicly to ſhew that ſhe did not always conform to his ſentiments. He came to London long before her: ſhe

* Anne, daughter of Frederick II. king of Denmark, queen of Scotland, afterwards of Great Britain; ſhe died in 1619.

was

1603. was ſtill in Scotland when I arrived at that city, and James wiſhed ſhe would not have departed from thence ſo ſoon, being perſuaded that her preſence would only be detrimental to affairs. He ſent to acquaint her with his deſire, and that with an air of authority, which coſts nothing to aſſume againſt thoſe who are abſent, but ſhe was very little affected by it.

Inſtead of obeying, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having, of her own accord, and againſt the king's expreſs deſire, appointed herſelf a great chamberlain of her houſhold. She was alſo attended by the earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman; and brought with her the body of the male child of which ſhe had been delivered in Scotland, becauſe endeavours had been uſed to perſuade the public, that his death was only feigned. She alſo brought with her the prince, her eldeſt ſon, whom ſhe in public affected to govern abſolutely, and whom, it was ſaid, ſhe ſought to inſpire with ſentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that ſhe was inclined to declare on that ſide. Nevertheleſs, the young prince gave her no room to be pleaſed with his deference for her: he naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this preſage was ſo much the more happy, as from the aſſemblage of ambition, greatneſs, and generoſity, already perceivable in him, he promiſed one day to become one of thoſe princes who are the ſubject of much converſation. He was, from report, acquainted with the character of the king of France, and he propoſed making him his model; which was certainly very diſagreeable to the queen his mother, who, it is ſaid, had reſolved to deſtroy his French diſpoſition, by having him ſent to be educated in Spain.

Thus I have given ſome account of the ſtate of the court of London, at the time when I began my negotiation. The character of the reſt of the principal perſons who compoſed it, will more particularly appear in the enſuing part of theſe Memoirs.

Here

Here therefore I will only add, that beſides count d'Aremberg from the arch-dukes, prince Henry of Naſſau, and the other deputies from the States-General, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambaſſador from his Catholic majeſty, and the envoys from Sweden * and Denmark, were alſo hourly expected, and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewiſe ſome others, but not of ſufficient conſequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the princes of Europe conſidered the gaining England in their intereſts, to be of the utmoſt importance to them. 1603.

The firſt of the foreign miniſters whom I ſaw at the court of London were thoſe of the elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new king, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me, almoſt immediately after my arrival, but nothing particular paſſed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil ſent his principal ſecretary to be informed by Beaumont, at what hour he might conveniently ſee me; and he accordingly came in the afternoon. So long as we had any witneſſes of our converſation, Cecil talked to me only of the king of England's affection for the king of France, of the deſire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the ſame ſtrain, which could only be regarded as compliments; nevertheleſs, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended to conſider what he had ſaid as very ſerious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of repreſenting to him, how highly advantageous an union between the two kings would be to both, and of urging the engagements they had formerly contracted, and the ſervices each had received from the other.

This general introduction ſerved me at leaſt to form a judgment of the diſpoſition of the perſon

* Chriſtiern IV.

1603. who ſpoke to me; and from his reply, I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the deſign of which was, to convince me that his maſter ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it ſhould judge proper, in regard to its diſputes with Spain. He ſpoke of Oſtend as a place little worth the pains which had been taken to preſerve it; and of the commerce of the Indies, as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low-Countries ought to be deprived. I oppoſed theſe ſentiments; and though he ſeemed convinced by my arguments, he nevertheleſs appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the king his maſter. He changed the ſubject, by informing me, that his majeſty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the ſolicitations which count D'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine; which his majeſty could not have refuſed him, becauſe he had arrived before me, and which, nevertheleſs, he was not diſpoſed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to underſtand was not inconſiderable, he alſo added that of offering me my audience, which was a ſecond obligation, no leſs valuable than the former, as all ambaſſadors were cuſtomarily obliged to demand it of the king; neither was it his fault, if I did not alſo regard the deputation of ſuch a man as him as a particular mark of reſpect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to the deputy, and I deſired he would give himſelf the trouble to teſtify my gratitude for it to the king.

Notwithſtanding all the pains this ſecretary had taken to perſuade me, that no one, after the king, had ſo much power as himſelf, and that he even governed in the councils of the prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewiſe imagined, that, fearing leſt ſome of his competitors ſhould deprive him of any of his important employments, he had ſolicited, and perhaps with great aſſiduity, of the

king his master, that of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himself degraded by the execution of it. La-Fontaine, and the deputies of the States-General, who entered just as Cecil went out, were, from his behaviour, of the same opinion; and this did not appear to us an unfortunate circumstance, no more than the observation which they had made, that since James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindness; having before then refused both to see or speak to the prince of Nassau, and even publicly given the States the epithet of *seditious rebels*. These deputies began to persuade me, that the king of France ought not only to inspire the king of England with more favourable sentiments in regard to them, but should openly declare himself their defender. They had much more to say on this head, but it was late, and supper was on the tables, I therefore dismissed them, with general assurances that they should be satisfied. 1603.

I gave then a more positive answer to Barnevelt* their principal, when he came to see me at the palace of Arundel, of which I was now in possession. Barnevelt, like his collegues, began by magnifying the misery to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expences they had been at since the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhausted condition. He said the states could no longer keep Ostend, nor resist the Spaniards, unless the king of France caused a powerful army to march without delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy, or the territories belonging to the arch-duke, enter Flanders from the land-side, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Ostend, having proved, they said, by experience, that the Spaniards could easily destroy, one after the other, all the little succours that were sent them by sea, and that immediately on their landing. After all these com-

* John d'Olden de Barnevelt, lord of Tempel.

1603. plaints, he concluded, as his collegues had done, that Henry ought to declare himſelf their protector, and enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with them.

I told Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he muſt renounce any ſuch hopes, for that Henry was not at all diſpoſed, through complaiſance for them, to draw upon himſelf the whole force of Spain, nor alone to ſupport the burden of a war, in which, ſuppoſing the king of England ſhould refuſe to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reaſon, I told him, as was really the caſe, that I could neither take any reſolution, nor ſay any thing poſitive to them, till I had at leaſt ſounded the diſpoſitions of this prince with regard to them. Barnevelt, having been at London for a conſiderable time, might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have acquired ſome knowledge of the king; I therefore aſked him what diſcoveries he had made? He replied, that this prince having from the firſt been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his counſellors, and his own paſſive diſpoſition, had long deprived them of all hopes; but having apparently reflected that this peace would coſt England dear, if by his inaction the Flemiſh ſhould return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or ſhould be obliged, in order to free themſelves from it, to accept that of France; and having, perhaps, been made ſenſible what even England had to fear from a power, who, without any regard to juſtice, attempted whatever ſeemed for its conveniency, when all other objects became inſufficient to ſatisfy its unbounded deſire; theſe conſiderations ſeemed to have thrown James into a ſtate of perplexity, out of which he had probably not yet extricated himſelf; for he had ſaid nothing more to them, than that he would not ſeparate himſelf from France; on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambaſſador, to unite more cloſely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

Theſe informations which I received from Barnevelt would have diſſipated part of my fears, had the king of England been one of thoſe princes on whom one could depend: but in all this, with reſpect to himſelf, I could only perceive diſſimulation, or, at beſt, irreſolution; for thoſe of his miniſters, whom I had reaſon to believe were beſt acquainted with the ſecrets of his councils, upon every occaſion conſtantly ſaid, that all endeavours to inſpire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the ſituation of their iſland protecting them againſt the enterpriſes of any foreign power whatever. It would indeed have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwiſe, or have deferred taking meaſures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his reſolution; and I believe the States were too good politicians to have committed ſuch a miſtake. In conſequence of this opinion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the intereſt of his country, not to conceal from me any of the moſt ſecret reſolutions which had been there taken, upon a ſuppoſition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that ſhe would endeavour to augment their diſtreſs, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elizabeth. 1603.

Barnevelt finding himſelf preſſed, and conſidering me as the confidant of a prince who was the only true friend to his country, no longer heſitated to diſcover all to me: and after having intimated the merit of ſo important a ſecret, he informed me, that the council of the United Provinces had reſolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Elizabeth would furniſh them with the means of doing this, by the time which might be required to examine the tenor of it; that in caſe they found themſelves too cloſely preſſed by the Engliſh and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunſwic and Vandrelep, offering Oſtend to be

1603. ſequeſtrated till the concluſion of the treaty; that during this interval, ſome event might perhaps happen in their favour, and thus, at leaſt for the preſent, a ſtop be put to the powerful forces preparing in Spain againſt Oſtend.

In order to underſtand what is here ſaid of the treaties with Elizabeth and Spain, it is neceſſary to know, that the late queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns *, as a ſecurity for the money which ſhe had lent them, with this gracious clauſe in their favour, That they ſhould not give her the poſſeſſion of them, unleſs they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her conſent. As to the other treaty, it was propoſed, in the height of the hoſtilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the conteſted countries under the power of the houſe of Auſtria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which poſſeſſed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or, which is moſt probable, both, were the cauſe of it, the treaty that was begun by the duke of Brunſwic, and continued by count Vandrelep, came to nothing: the former demanded, that the provinces and towns which Spain ſtill preſerved, or had regained in Flanders, ſhould be comprehended in the treaty; becauſe, ſaid they, they riſqued too much by being ſo near the power of Spain, who taking advantage of a pretended peace, might eaſily regain poſſeſſion of what ſhe appeared to abandon; and the latter could not but with regret think of ſeparating ſo brilliant a gem from her crown.

In the afternoon of this day, I was viſited by the reſident from Venice, who was the ſecretary of that republic: he was as free and unreſerved in his diſcourſe with me as Barnevelt had been; for his ſtate was in the ſame ſituation of jealouſy and complaints againſt Spain, and of union with France: he further confirmed to me what I had before ſtrongly

* Fleſſingue and Brille.

ſuſpected,

ſuſpected, of the irreſolution of James; he told me, 1603.
that this prince, who ſo often and ſo loudly repeated the high ſounding words *the policy of Europe*, did, in reality, concern himſelf with nothing leſs; and that his diſſimulation, which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always conſiſted in giving hopes to all, but accompliſhing none; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to ſay, that it was to ſuch an artful conduct alone he owed his ſecurity when king of Scotland; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put thoſe arts in practice, and purſue them more ſteadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, whoſe people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted with; all which were circumſtances favourable to his maxim.

Theſe reflections of the Venetian were at once ſenſible and juſt. He afterwards informed me of the duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new king, whom, by the envoys from the elector Palatine, he had ſolicited to ſpeak to Henry in his favour: but James ſtopped them by ſaying, that it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebellious ſubject. After this mortifying reply, I know not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that ſcheme which had been concerted between La Tremouille, D'Entragues, Du-Pleſſis, and himſelf, and had bore in their opinions ſo favourable an aſpect: this ſcheme was to make the king of England protector of the calviniſt party in France, and the elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Engliſhman named Wilem, who had entered into his ſervice after having quitted that of his majeſty, to whom he had been huntſman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the French name of Le Blanc. D'Entragues' agent was named Du-Panni: he was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correſpondence was with the duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed

1603. me of all theſe particulars in his letters, and having by his order made enquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negotiate by others; for had he appeared at London, he would ſoon have been diſcovered to be a man of many words and but little underſtanding. The teſtimony which I on all occaſions bore to this truth, did not advance his affairs.

The ſame day alſo count d'Aremberg ſent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excuſing his not coming himſelf, as cuſtom did not permit ſuch viſits till after he had received his firſt audience of the king. All that paſſed between me and this nobleman conſiſted in compliments, offers of ſervice, and aſſurances of peace and friendſhip, in all which nothing was wanting but ſincerity.

The king of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the twenty-ſecond, which was Sunday, ſent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to deſire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted any thing. To this favour was alſo added the preſent of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, was the firſt he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chace; the reaſon was, there was none in Scotland. From hence he took occaſion to make Henry a compliment, by ſaying that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclination in their majeſties was to me a preſage of their perſonal union, unleſs a jealouſy of the chace ſhould prevent it; that, in this caſe, I would take the liberty to offer myſelf as arbiter between their majeſties, being ſo diſintereſted and indifferent in this article, that when the king my maſter made a party for the chace, he was ſo far from thinking, like the king of England, that my preſence would contribute

contribute to its ſucceſs, that he generally ſent me to purſue other affairs in the cabinet, where, he ſaid, I was more happy. Though there was nothing ſerious in all this, I was nevertheleſs glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to inſinuate myſelf into his Britiſh majeſty's favour, and with this view I turned my compliment in ſuch a manner as might pleaſe the ſelf-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any compariſon with the king of France. I returned the compliment which count d'Aremberg had paid me, and, at the ſame time, ſent him half my preſent. 1063.

One part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue ſhould appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the firſt part of my commiſſion, which conſiſted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambaſſador, foreigner, or Engliſh, was admitted into the preſence of the new king in black; and Beaumont had ſince repreſented to me, that what I intended would moſt certainly be highly diſagreeable to the court, where ſo ſtrong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princeſs, that ſhe was never ſpoke of, and even the mention of her name induſtriouſly avoided.

I ſhould have been very glad not to have been ſenſible of the neceſſity I was laid under of appearing in a garb, which would ſeem to caſt a reproach on the king and all England: but my orders hereupon were poſitive, not to mention that they were almoſt laudable; and this was the reaſon I paid no regard to Beaumont's repreſentations, who entreated me to defer putting myſelf to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about it to Erſkine and ſome others, who were beſt acquainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote accordingly, but received no anſwer on Thurſday, Friday, nor even all day on Saturday; and I ſtill perſiſted in my reſolution, notwithſtanding the reaſons which he continually gave me to the contrary,

1603. contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and ſo late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erſkine had ſent to acquaint him, that the whole court conſidered my intention as a premeditated affront, and that I had ſo offended the king by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the ſucceſs of my negotiation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with thoſe of my lord Sidney, the viſcount de Saraot, La-Fontaine, and the States deputies, it was impoſſible for me to be in doubt about it; and, through fear leſt a greater evil ſhould enſue, I cauſed all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themſelves others as well as they could. Lewkenor coming the next morning to inform me that I ſhould be preſented to the king at three o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived, from the ſatisfaction which he expreſſed at the new orders I had given, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to vanquiſh my repugnance; nevertheleſs it publicly gained me almoſt as much honour, as if I had perſiſted in my intention, becauſe none were ignorant that I had complied only through abſolute neceſſity.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XV.

THE king of England's guards, with the earl of Derby at their head, came to attend me from the palace of Arundel, and eſcorted me to the Thames, whoſe banks they lined whilſt I went down to Greenwich. This paſſage I made in the king's barges, being attended by one hundred and twenty gentlemen, ſelected from my whole retinue. Upon my landing, I was received by the earl of Northumberland, who, through an infinite number of people, conducted me to the king's palace. 1603.

I entered into a chamber, where we were preſented with a collation, though contrary to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in England, never to treat ambaſſadors, nor even to offer them a glaſs of water. His majeſty having ſent to deſire my appearance in his preſence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occaſioned both by the great numbers that were already there, and becauſe I made all my retinue walk before me. The prince no ſooner perceived me than he deſcended two ſteps, and would have deſcended them all,

1603. all, ſo very deſirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his miniſters, who ſtood next him, whiſpered ſoftly in his ear, that he ought to go no farther. "If, ſaid he aloud, I ſhew this "ambaſſador particular marks of honour, and ſuch "as are contrary to cuſtom, I mean not thereby to "give a precedent to others: I particularly love "and eſteem him for the affection which I know "he has for me, for his firmneſs in our religion, "and his fidelity to his maſter." I dare not repeat all that he ſaid to my advantage. I received ſo obliging a favour with all due reſpect; and replied, not by an harangue, ſuch as ſome may, perhaps, expect to ſee here, and with which court-pedants would be more pleaſed; but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more ſuitable to my ſituation. Henry's affliction for the death of Elizabeth, his joy for the acceſſion of James to the throne of England, the praiſes of the two kings; all theſe I compriſed in very few words. I excuſed myſelf from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's having himſelf explained his ſentiments in his letters, which I at the ſame time preſented, diſtinguiſhing to his Britannic majeſty, that which Henry had wrote with his own hand. He read them himſelf, and then gave them to Cecil; expreſſing, at the ſame time, how ſenſible he was of their contents, by theſe words, "That he had not left in Scotland the ardor with "which he had always loved the king of France, "and deſired the proſperity of his crown." I continued to compliment his majeſty, though in the ſtyle of common converſation; for that of haranguing was extremely diſagreeable to me. I ſaid, that Henry had given public demonſtrations of his joy, on ſeeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was ſo worthy of it, and for his having been ſo readily and univerſally acknowledged; that if there had been occaſion for the preſence of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, he would have given proofs of

of his ſincere attachment to his intereſts, and union with his perſon, and have come with pleaſure to any place where his preſence might have been neceſſary. I did repent my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had even found the Engliſh at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheleſs, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himſelf, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France: "It being always "commendable, ſaid he, to overcome evil with "good." But that he had had the double ſatisfaction, of quitting a crown in friendſhip with France, for another that was not leſs ſo. The late queen was mentioned on this occaſion, but without one word in her praiſe. 1603.

After this, his majeſty being deſirous to diſcourſe longer and more familiarly with me, he made me aſcend all the ſteps leading to the throne. I took this occaſion to make my particular compliment, for which he thanked me with an air of ſincerity and affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he had received from Paris, of the diſcourſes attributed to Henry, to me, and to my brother, after his return from Scotland: he confeſſed that he had for ſome time believed them, but that he had at laſt diſcovered the whole to be only an artifice of their common enemies, who, by uſing ſuch means, to open themſelves a paſſage to univerſal monarchy, had rendered themſelves much more odious to him. He exclaimed in very ſevere terms againſt the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleaſure to Naſſau, who was near enough to hear ſomething of what was ſaid; and alſo to the Flemiſh deputies, who were preſent, tho' incognito, having not yet been able to obtain audience. He ſpoke of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war among their neighbours with the greateſt abhorrence; proteſted that he would oppoſe their unjuſt deſigns; and talked of the king of Spain, as a man too weak both in body and mind

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1603. to think of the great chimera's of his predeceſſors. The pleaſure which I received from this diſcourſe was ſufficient to make me deſirous of continuing it. I told the king of England, that he was extremely happy in being ſo well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not ſo with the king of France: to prove which, I inſtanced what they had done ſince the concluſion of ſo ſolemn a peace as that of Vervins; the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and ſome other grievances. I added, that ſuch was the artifice of the Spaniſh councils, that to put the change upon Europe in regard to its injuries, they always began by complaining firſt: which conduct was equally dangerous and deteſtable with that which they uſually practiſed, of treating with their neighbours only with the premeditated intention of deceiving them, even by that ſecurity which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt, that the reſentment which he ſhewed againſt Spain, before ſo many witneſſes, was as ſincere as it was violent. From this moment the firſt dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

The king of England changed this ſubject to that of hunting, for which he diſcovered an extravagant paſſion. He ſaid, that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late ſucceſs of his ſport to me, not as marquis of Roſny, but as ambaſſador from a king who was not only the greateſt prince, but the greateſt hunter in the world; and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chace, becauſe I was of greater ſervice to him elſewhere; and that if I purſued the chace, the king of France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all the exerciſes, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a cloſe inſpection into the proceedings of his miniſters; being far from that blind credulity which the king

king of Spain had for the duke of Lerma. Here- 1603.
upon James ſaid, that without doubt I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and reſiſt the importunities of the great men of the kingdom: and of this he produced ſome inſtances, of which I had loſt the remembrance. He then ſuddenly aſked me, as it were by interrupting himſelf, how the king of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this queſtion was aſked, that endeavours had been uſed to perſuade this prince, that Henry, ſince his late indiſpoſition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that this opinion would be the moſt powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependance upon a minor king. I endeavoured therefore to undeceive him, in regard to all theſe falſe reports, and ſucceeded. But he further ſaid, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry, for which he was extremely ſorry; and this was, that his phyſicians had forbid him the chace. To this I replied, that ſuch advice was, perhaps, what he himſelf would do well to purſue. In reality, James had but lately narrowly eſcaped breaking his arm in the chace, the manner of which accident he had related to me.

When I acquainted Henry with this part of our converſation, he, in his anſwer, ordered me to tell the king of England, that in purſuance to the advice of his phyſicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he uſed to be, and that ſince my departure he had been at the death of five or ſix ſtags without the leaſt inconvenience. "Well," ſaid the king of England to me, ſtill continuing the ſame ſubject, "I underſtand you have ſent part of the "produce of my ſport to count d'Aremberg; and "how do you think he received it? I aſſure you, "it was not at all agreeable to him. He ſays, you "ſent it only to ſhew that you was more regarded "than he; and he is in the right, for I will ſurely "make ſome difference between my good brother

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1603. "the king of France, and his maſters, who have "ſent me an ambaſſador who can neither walk "nor talk; he demanded an audience of me in "a garden, becauſe he could not walk up ſtairs into "a room." James then aſked me, whether the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had been ſent to him, had paſſed through France? and upon my replying that he had: "Spain, ſaid he, ſends me an ambaſſador "poſt, that he may arrive the ſooner, and finiſh "our affairs in poſt-haſte." Thus upon every occaſion he inveighed againſt the Spaniards. Taxis*, courier-major to his Catholic majeſty, had, in effect, taken his rout through France into Flanders, from thence to repair to London; and this journey he had performed with great expedition, though his orders extended no farther, than merely to diſcover the intentions of the king of England. The real ambaſſador was Valaſco †, conſtable of Caſtile, who ſoon followed him.

After all this, James aſked me (for he did not dwell long upon one ſubject) whether I went to the proteſtant church in London? Upon my replying that I did: "Then, ſaid he, you are not reſolved, as "I have been informed, to quit our religion, after "the example of Sancy, who thought by that con-"deſcenſion to make his fortune; but, by God's "providence, did juſt the contrary." I treated this report as a calumny, and ſaid, that my living in France in friendſhip with ſo many eccleſiaſtics, and being ſo frequently viſited by the Pope's nuncio, might perhaps have given riſe to it. "Do you "give the Pope the title of Holineſs?" ſaid James. I replied, "That to conform to the cuſtom eſtabliſh-"ed in France, I did." He was then for proving to me, that this cuſtom was an offence againſt God, to whom alone this title could juſtly belong. I replied, that I ſuppoſed that a greater crime was

* John Taxis, count of Villa-Mediana.

† John Ferdinand de Velaſco, duke of Frias.

not

not hereby committed, than by the frequent giving to princes ſuch titles as they were well known not to deſerve. He ſpoke to me of Du-Pleſſis, and appeared ſomewhat concerned for his fortune and preſent condition: he ſaid, that I ought not entirely to forget him; that it was true, he had been greatly to blame, to publiſh his laſt book under his own name; becauſe, by the titles which he therein gave himſelf, he obliged the king of France to take notice of it; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the ſervices which he had rendered the proteſtant religion. He ſaid not a word to me, either of Holland, or the duke of Bouillon; but he highly approved Henry's chaſtiſement of the duke of Savoy, who was, he ſaid, an ambitious and turbulent man. 1603.

I think I have omitted nothing of any conſequence of what was ſaid to me by the king of England, in this my firſt audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, ſaying, it would be time for me to go to ſupper, and to my repoſe. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accoſted by admiral Howard, lord Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the great chamberlain Erſkine, in conducting me croſs the court of the palace, ſpoke to me of his attachment to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and his deſire of being ranked amongſt the number of my friends. The earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, ſaid pretty near the ſame to me: no one amongſt the Engliſh lords has more underſtanding, capacity, courage, nor poſſeſſed more authority than he: he manifeſted a great deſire to have a private converſation with me upon the preſent affairs. I gathered from what he ſaid, though he did not ſpeak in plain terms, that he was not ſatisfied with the government; that he blamed the greateſt part of the king's actions; in ſhort, to ſay it in a

1603. word, that he had no great ſhare either of fidelity or eſteem for James. It is not neceſſary to ſay with what reſerve and circumſpection I liſtened to ſuch diſcourſe.

The open declaration which the king of England had made againſt Spain, had given me ſome hopes that the court of London would be inſenſibly prejudiced againſt that court. In the interval between my firſt and ſecond audience, ſeveral things happened which increaſed theſe hopes. An Engliſh catholic, who was likewiſe a jeſuit (as was at firſt reported) was ſeized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being queſtioned, he confeſſed that he had diſguiſed himſelf in this manner, to deliver the catholic church from the oppreſſion of the new king of England, unleſs he re-eſtabliſhed the romiſh religion in his dominions ſolely, or, at leaſt, with privileges equal to thoſe enjoyed by the proteſtants, and unleſs he likewiſe declared himſelf againſt the proteſtants of Holland; that eight other jeſuits had conſpired with him in this deſign, and that they had actually diſperſed themſelves in different parts of London, in order to embrace any opportunity that might offer to deſtroy this prince. But the report was falſe, in regard to the perſon of this ſuſpected Engliſhman, for he was not a jeſuit *, but only a ſeminary prieſt. Had the truth of all the other circumſtances been equally well diſcovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almoſt to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reaſon count d'Aremberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indiſpoſition, which was diſſembled, and that he only waited till the ſuppoſed conſpirators had accompliſhed their deſign, or at leaſt till by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occaſioned a re-

* Thuanus, no more than M. de Sully, charges the jeſuits with having any concern in this conſpiracy, which is the ſame that will be mentioned below.

volution, which would have releaſed him from his obligations to wait on the king at court. 1663.

It is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous ſuſpicion was carried. The queen was at the ſame time coming to London: this, ſaid they, was to favour the Spaniſh faction; which ſo diſturbed James, that he immediately ſent the earl of Lennox expreſly to forbid that princeſs to continue her journey: but whether the earl could not, or whether he rather choſe not to ſucceed in his commiſſion, the queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the king remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his miniſters, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to ſhew themſelves greatly diſguſted both with the queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Elizabeth, who had lived in a perpetual miſtruſt of the court of Madrid. And now they laviſhed upon her thoſe praiſes of which they had been before ſo ſparing, and ſeemed diſpleaſed with themſelves at the indifference they had ſhewn to her memory: nor muſt I forget that it was not without doing violence to myſelf, that I refrained following ſuch a general example.

I believe the Spaniſh faction, during all this, was in no little pain; for inſtead of talking, as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it ſaid, that ſo far from having any dependence on what Spain called her friendſhip and alliance, it was not even ſafe to contract with her; that the ambaſſador of this court had not dared to preſent himſelf in London, and that moſt certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic majeſty was compared with that of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. Henry's procedure appeared ſo open and ingenuous, and ſo far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it;

1603. he, ſaid they, would never have ſent into England the man who, of all others in his kingdom, was moſt neceſſary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both; nor would I myſelf, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of thoſe characters, whoſe concluſion is generally that of beholding one's ſelf at once both diſhonoured and ſacrificed to the public indignation. In ſhort, if a union between the two crowns, which I propoſed, was not in all reſpects the beſt conduct that they could purſue, it was at leaſt the ſafeſt; for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings ſhould conſider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they ſometimes reaſoned in the council, and in the preſence of the king of England, very much to the ſatisfaction of thoſe counſellors who were in our intereſts, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the prince in their party. My lord Mountjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almoſt public profeſſion which he made of attachment to France, here uſed his utmoſt intereſt and endeavours.

But all this only diſſipated part of my fears; I perceived ſo many other obſtacles, that they almoſt entirely diſcouraged me; what I might expect from the queen only ſcarce appeared ſurmountable. My apprehenſions from the ſecretary Cecil, were but little inferior to thoſe from the queen. He was at this time ſeparated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this ſeparation; for I was ſtrongly perſuaded of the inſincerity of this ſubtle miniſter's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might be in time to become head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the Engliſh, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but theſe Scotch lords were ſo difficult to manage, and ſo much upon their guard againſt the Engliſh, that

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he could not but be baffled notwithſtanding all his efforts; and he was himſelf too penetrating not to be perfectly ſenſible of it. Accordingly it was ſaid (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this miniſter I was myſelf of the ſame opinion) that he had ſought the Scots, who were real confidants and favourites of his majeſty, only to make himſelf known, and render himſelf neceſſary to this prince; that having ſucceeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to center all power in himſelf, and, making uſe of the king's name and authority, would ſilence the queen, the Engliſh, and even the Scots themſelves, or at leaſt would leave to thoſe he ſhould judge proper only ſome faint ſhadow of favour, and would then reaſſume his real character. And what is moſt remarkable, it was not unlikely that this ſubtle man was himſelf the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be ſuch to him; for is it poſſible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the moſt ambitious and moſt tenacious of power of all men, ſhould remain unknown only to them? But no doubt they all knew that the prince's ear was not alone ſufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they were not in the leaſt acquainted, and of which the ſecretary only could give them the beſt information. 1603.

Suppoſing alſo that the Scotiſh party was undoubtedly firm in the intereſts of France, there ſtill remained a material doubt, whether ſo haughty a people as the Engliſh would ſubmit to be governed by foreigners, and more eſpecially by the Scots, who at all times had been the object of their averſion: and beſides, it was far from being certain that the Scots would always continue to poſſeſs the king's favour; for the regard which he already began to ſhow to the earl of Eſſex, Southampton, and my lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might eaſily loſe their influence. Laſtly, to increaſe this unpromiſing aſpect, the two king's of Sweden and Denmark, whoſe repreſentations might have been

1603. of great weight in determining this prince, and who had hitherto been ſo unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his deſigns, now either did it not at all, or did it with ſuch indifference, that their example was far from inſpiring a proper reſolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambaſſadors, in preſence of the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Erſkine, who was preſent three times, as being a common friend, they made me the faireſt ſpeeches imaginable; their averſion for Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded ſo far as to draw up a kind of ſcheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the diviſion of conqueſts, which they agreed might eaſily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference being ended, they no longer remembred any of their promiſes, and beheld nothing but obſtacles, in regard to which in my preſence they had kept a profound ſilence. A ſtrange behaviour this! from whence, however, I made ſome diſcovery of what ſort of men I had to deal with.

My lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence, that he had been preſent at a meeting of theſe ambaſſadors, wherein only thoſe of his majeſty's council and the ſtates-deputies were admitted; that here, inſtead of labouring mutually to ſtrengthen themſelves in laudable reſolutions, each of them had only ſought to draw himſelf out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Daniſh deputy repreſented, that indeed his maſter poſſeſſed a great extent of territory, but for the moſt part barren, and, by the inconveniency of its ſituation, rather expenſive than profitable; that the ſubmiſſion and tractableneſs of the people was an advantage of no uſe to the king his maſter, becauſe from the prodigious variation of their manners and cuſtoms he could neither underſtand them, nor could they underſtand one another; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to eſtabliſh a general

neral and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterprise. The Swede said, it would be highly imprudent for his master to engage in a foreign war, because his nephew, the king of Poland, had not yet forgot his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, but, on the contrary, seemed disposed to renew them with more vigour than ever; so that the preservation of his own dominions might probably find him sufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the rest of his brethren, explained himself in a manner so different from his usual complaints, that, I confess, I am at a loss to conceive what could be the intention of so strange a procedure: he spoke of Spain only with contempt; in the revolt of the Spaniards, and the forces of the States, he found resources sufficient to preserve them from all oppression; he seemed no longer to despair of the success of Ostend as formerly, and intimated that his masters had conceived a design which would more than indemnify them for that loss supposing it should happen. The English ministers taking their text from a saying of the king of England, That every new king, if he had the smallest degree of good conduct, ought at least to let a year and a day pass before he made any innovation, though of the smallest consequence; concluded unanimously, that it would be most prudent to wait, and they remained firm to this determination. If we consider these geniuses of the North * with some little attention, we shall perceive they constantly preserve some affinity with the nature of their climate; they have but little vigour of thought, few resources in their imagination, little constancy in their resolutions, and not the least tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is so much the more glorious to that great queen. 1603.

* The times are changed; and I do not doubt if the author had lived in our days, but he would have done justice to the wisdom and policy of some of the Northern powers.

1603. I now only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spaniſh councils, as I was with thoſe of Britain and the North; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real deſigns of that crown, what propoſitions ſhe had already made to the king of England, how they had been received, and finally what ſteps ſhe intended to take for the accompliſhment of her deſires; for barely to underſtand that the king of Spain ſought to detach England from France and the Low Countries, was knowing nothing, or at moſt but very little. It was ſuſpected that Spain meditated ſomething of much greater importance; this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared ſo much the leſs to be neglected becauſe Aerſens and Barnevelt both at the ſame time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at Paris, the other at London. I therefore uſed my utmoſt endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by my lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information: but what made the greateſt impreſſion upon me, was, that the earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a conſiderable penſion, under the name of a preſent, with great ſecreſy one night when I was going to bed, ſent his ſecretary to acquaint me with the following particulars.

From the moment king James aſcended the throne of England, ſaid this ſecretary, the king of Spain has not ceaſed to ſollicit him, either by his own agents, or thoſe of the archduke's, or by the Engliſh catholics, to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with him, againſt France and the United Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might perſuade him that both of them, but more eſpecially that his Britannic majeſty, had a title ſo clear and inconteſtable to ſeveral provinces in France, that it would be ſhameful in him not to make uſe of it, at a time when the exhauſted condition of that kingdom preſented

fented ſo fair an opportunity: and the means pro- 1603.
poſed by Spain to ſecure the ſucceſs of this enter-
priſe, were, that James and his catholic majeſty ſhould, at the ſame time, demand of France the reſtitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the king of England; Bretagne, and Bourgogne, for the king of Spain; and, upon a refuſal, to fall upon theſe provinces with all their united forces. His catholic majeſty, for this purpoſe, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries, moreover to renounce all his pretenſions upon the United Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they ſo ardently deſire, upon a ſuppoſition, however, that, in conſideration of this favour, they would conſent to ſtrengthen the league by joining it, and by concurring in all their deſigns. The king of England having made no anſwer to all theſe great offers, farther than by ſaying, that they were premature, and that he choſe to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new ſubjects, and by ſtrengthening himſelf upon the throne, Spain eaſily perceived that this reply was a civil refuſal; and James not being diſpoſed by open force to attempt the recovery of his antient poſſeſſions, Spain then turned her endeavours to perſuade this prince, at leaſt to favour the French provinces in their deſign (of which ſhe informed him) to erect themſelves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been repreſented to James to be extremely eaſy to effect. It has been ſaid, theſe provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to ſhake off their inſupportable yoke; the Spaniſh emiſſaries, ſeconding theſe diſpoſitions, have every where reported that it only depended on themſelves, whether they would enjoy a profound tranquility without taxes, ſubſidies, or military garriſons, under ſhelter of the two crowns their protectors, and that they had no cauſe to apprehend either the reſentment of Henry, or the violences of his troops, becauſe care would be taken at the ſame time to involve

1603. involve him in ſo many other perplexities, that he would be under a neceſſity of ſuffering them to preſcribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the ſecretary of the earl of Northumberland, what James replied to this ſecond propoſition; we conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, becauſe the Spaniſh emiſſaries, in their conferences with his Britannic majeſty, have ſeveral times been obliged to change their ſyſtem, or ſucceſſively to repeat the ſame again with different modifications. Sometimes they have offered him the whole force and all the treaſures of Spain, to uſe them againſt France in whatever manner he ſhould judge proper, without requiring any thing more in return, than that he ſhould conclude no treaty without their conſent, nor ſhould concern himſelf in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders; at other times, they have deſcended only to deſire that he would give no aſſiſtance to the United Provinces.

If the whole of what was here related to me was true, from thence might be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the moſt imminent danger, becauſe a ſingle word of approbation from king James would have drawn upon her a moſt terrible ſtorm. But for my own part I confeſs, that to me this appears ſo extravagant and ſo much beyond the bounds of probability, that from whatever places it might come confirmed, I cannot believe that Spain would ever think of propoſing to king James any thing like the firſt propoſitions which are here related. Suppoſing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England in regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconſiderable diſcuſſion, yet had they well conſidered how many other difficulties would ariſe from a difference of religions, intereſts, manners, and cuſtoms, both between themſelves and with the French provinces which they ſuppoſed conformable to their ſentiments.

That

That article which concerns the United-Provinces, alone deſtroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to ſubject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that ſuch an enterpriſe was alone capable to deſtroy, or at leaſt for a conſiderable time to prevent the execution of their common deſigns, becauſe France, being once convinced that her own ſafety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conqueſt, would have conſidered aſſiſting the States as defending herſelf: and if Spain propoſed to gain theſe provinces in her intereſts, ſhe would herein have been more groſly deceived; for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them with their moſt mortal enemy, much leſs to incline them to aſſiſt her in her conqueſts, and that too of their antient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought: they upon all occaſions have conſtantly ſaid that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably diſpoſed towards them; and if ſometimes they have talked in a different manner, as in the conference above-mentioned, it was either to excite the French to make ſtill greater efforts in their favour, or to inſpire the Engliſh with the ſentiments of France in regard to them: beſides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquiſh territories, which her own force might acquire? 1603.

In regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barnevelt, who with Aërſens muſt be conſidered only as one, becauſe the former received his information from the latter, could be ſufficiently depended upon: the firſt might have been deceived, and the ſecond might have ſought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the ſucceſs of their affairs. In regard to the three Engliſh lords, I was ſo far from depending upon what they

1603. they ſaid, that, on the contrary, I ſuſpected they were themſelves the ſole authors of the whole ſcheme; that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, preſented it to the king of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as perſons of conſequence; which was quite ſuitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but ſhe would be pleaſed to hear ſuch reports ſpread, and even that ſhe would gladly uſe her endeavours to make them believed, not with any intention ſeriouſly to confer with his Britannic majeſty concerning them, nor even that they ſhould come to his ears, but only with deſign to increaſe the diſcord, and augment the number of the ſeditious in thoſe provinces of France which were intereſted therein. It was in theſe terms that I wrote about it to Henry, who ſometimes conſidered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and ſometimes believed it true in regard to Spain, who, from a deſire to deſtroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I told Henry, that, though all theſe ſchemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheleſs, to be attentive to whatever paſſed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limoſin, Pays d'Aunis, in ſhort, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the ſame bad effects as though they had been true.

The day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his Britiſh majeſty conferred the honour of knighthood on ſeveral perſons, he ſent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a ſecond audience the day on which I myſelf had deſired it, being Wedneſday the 25th; that I ſhould be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few perſons with me, in order to prevent the inconveniencies cauſed by great numbers, and, ſaid he, that I may confer with you alone with greater freedom. Upon this occaſion, I was accompanied from Lon-

don to Greenwich by my lord Hume, who, in France, had had the honour of seeing and discoursing with his most christian majesty. I took some refreshment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accosted by little Edmonds *, who made me a long discourse, in which he complained, that he was not treated so well as his past services, and his knowledge of the affairs of France, deserved. The earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation, by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment. 1603.

Immediately upon my entrance this prince arose, and, having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I began it by thanking his majesty for having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him, on the subject of my commission, without reserve and without witnesses; "Not, said I, "that the king my master has sent me to require "any thing of your majesty, but only to be informed of your intentions in regard to affairs "wherein your majesties may both be equally concerned; and that the king my master may conform to them, as a good brother." The king of England replied, that the manner in which he plainly saw the king of France and I acted with respect to him, required that he should not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words, pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe; "in which, said he, "it is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between "three of its powers," meaning the houses of "Bourbon, Austria, and Steuart. He said, that of

* Edmonds had been agent, and afterwards ambassador from Elizabeth to Henry IV. during the wars of the league; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

these

1603. theſe three powers, the houſe of Auſtria in Spain, from the ſpirit of dominion with which ſhe was poſſeſſed, was the only one who ſought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjuſt deſign was the cauſe that the king of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought ſecretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that ſhe could not complain, ſhe having herſelf ſet them the firſt example; to Henry by her combination with marechal Biron and the diſaffected in France, by the ſuccours ſhe had given the duke of Savoy when at war with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, by the enterpriſe upon Geneva, finally, by ſeveral other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by inſtigating and encouraging the Jeſuits and the Engliſh catholic faction. From hence it appears, that the affair of the Jeſuit had gained but too much credit with James. But that all this could, by neither ſide, be conſidered as ſufficient cauſe for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be beſt to avoid it, by continuing, as before, ſecretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a reſolution to purſue more vigorous and effectual meaſures, in caſe Spain ſhould herſelf reſolve upon any open rupture.

I very highly applauded ſuch laudable ſentiments, and indeed they really deſerved it: nor could I have ſaid any thing further on the ſubject, had I not, at the ſame time, perceived in the perſon from whom they came a diſpoſition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and ſeemed to tell me, that, having promiſed a little, he ſhould perform nothing. This obſervation induced me to tell his Britannic majeſty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be purſued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the ſentiments of his chriſtian majeſty; and that Henry only feared it would be inſufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the reſentment

ment of that crown, whoſe character, upon this occaſion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the moſt natural colours. I repreſented to James every thing which Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years paſt; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the ſtates of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England alſo, both theſe crowns owing their preſervation, next to the firmneſs of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky incident of the revolt of the Low Countries; and I concluded, that as both James and Henry would one day be indiſpenſably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to ſap the foundation of ſo vaſt a dominion, it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary now to concert the proper meaſures for it, that no ſtep might be taken to the contrary; and that this, together with the means whereby the preſervation of the United Provinces might be proviſionally ſecured, was all that I had to deſire of his majeſty. "But, "ſaid the king of England, what better aſſiſtance "would you that the king of France and I ſhould "give the Low Countries, than to comprehend "them with us in a general treaty of partition and "pacification between them and Spain, upon con-"ditions of which we ſhall ourſelves be guarantees? "whereby, ſhould Spain firſt fail in the obſervation "of them, we ſhall then have juſt reaſon to take "arms againſt her, and drive her entirely out of "theſe provinces: and I conſent, added he, upon "a ſuppoſition that this will be the caſe, immedi-"ately to determine with you, what means and what "forces we ſhall employ for the execution of it." James was not ſenſible of all the objections to this partition-treaty which he propoſed between Spain and the Low Countries; or if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear ſatisfied with what he propoſed, but 1603.

1603. during the delays which negotiating this treaty would produce, eſpecially with a court whoſe dilatorineſs was one of the chief arts of her policy, Oſtend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being ſeparated from it; and Spain would in the mean time ſtrengthen herſelf in what ſhe did poſſeſs, and would be preparing the means for ſucceeding more effectually in her deſign of ſubjecting the reſt of this ſtate.

I deſired his Britannic majeſty to beſtow ſome ſerious reflection upon the conſiderations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for ſome time in ſilence, and ſeemed deeply immerſed in thought; after which, in a heſitating and irreſolute voice, he ſaid, that it muſt be confeſſed I was in the right; that the affair was of great conſequence; that he had often thought of it, though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect; and that he had waited my coming, to determine him in his reſolution. At this moment I penetrated into all which this prince refuſed to tell me; and I thought I ought not to heſitate attacking him in his inmoſt receſſes: I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words, and ſaid, that as often as this affair had been debated in his majeſty's council, and as often as he had heard his miniſters utter ſentiments different from mine, his majeſty might eaſily have been convinced, that they did it only from ſome motives of ſelf-intereſt, becauſe there was not the leaſt room for doubt; that one ſingle examination would demonſtrate, as evidently as a million, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to prevent the reſt of the Low Countries from being ſubjected by Spain, becauſe, were ſhe to ſucceed in this, ſhe might, with the ſame forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occaſion, without expoſing theſe Engliſh counſellors ſo much as I could, by a diſcovery of part of their intrigues, I ſo far acquainted the king

of

of England with them, as to make him ſenſible 1603.
that I was not ignorant that they had endeavoured
to make him turn thoſe forces againſt France, which
I would perſuade him to employ againſt Spain.

James entered of himſelf into the ſentiments with which I wanted to inſpire him, with reſpect to his council: he told me, that he was very far from being of the ſame opinion with ſome of his courtiers, in what concerned the antient pretenſions of England upon France; and beſides that the preſent conjuncture and political ſtate of affairs did not permit him to think ſeriouſly about them, he alſo conſidered theſe pretended rights as annulled by divine providence, which irreſiſtibly gives and takes away crowns; and by time, whoſe preſcription was more than centenary; which words he repeated ſeveral times: that this conſideration being of no weight with him, he could therefore previouſly aſſure me, that whatever his final reſolution might be, at leaſt he would not ſuffer the United-Provinces, nor even Oſtend, to come under the dominion of the Spaniards: that for the preſent I ought not to require any thing farther of him, nor preſs him to a concluſion, till he had firſt conferred with two or three of his miniſters, whoſe knowledge, as well as honeſty, he was well convinced of; that beſides, from the reflections which I had ſuggeſted to him, he was now able to diſtinguiſh and reſiſt the voice of paſſion and prejudice: and laſtly, that he would in a ſhort time acquaint me with what might be farther neceſſary for me to know, in regard to his ſentiments and final reſolution.

I ſhould be very glad not to have concluded our conference on this head ſo ſoon, but James broke it off, by ſaying, that he ſhould finiſh the remainder of it another time, becauſe he wanted now to have ſome converſation with me concerning the duke of Bouillon. He informed me, that the deputies of the elector Palatine had ſtrongly ſolicited him in favour of the duke; but that, not being perfectly well ac-

1603. quainted with the affair, he had refuſed to concern himſelf in it all, through fear, leſt he ſhould favour a rebel. He deſired me to relate to him all the circumſtances of it: which I accordingly did very ſuccinctly; ſo that he had the whole affair before him. James gave me his word, that however he might be ſolicited by the Palatine, he would never concern himſelf in it; and ſaid, he wiſhed others would meddle as little in the affairs of the Engliſh catholics. I readily apprehended, by the manner in which he uttered theſe laſt words, that they carried with them a kind of reproach.

In order to underſtand what is here meant, it is neceſſary to be informed, that ſome time before the death of Elizabeth the partiſans of Spain having, as uſual, the jeſuits at their head, had raiſed diſturbances in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. Though religion was their pretence, their real views were political, either becauſe the king of Spain, as his flatterers had perſuaded him, really believed his rights to the crown of England were ſo well founded, that after the death of the queen he might openly declare his pretenſions, or becauſe he ſought to involve the ſucceſſor of Elizabeth in ſuch perplexities as might prevent his engaging in any thing elſe. The jeſuits, upon this occaſion, very imprudently, it ſhould ſeem, had differed with the Engliſh catholic ſecular clergy: this was chiefly occaſioned by their endeavouring to create a certain arch-prieſt *, which the Engliſh catholics would not admit of. The affair was brought before the Pope, who upon this occaſion, for reaſons of which I am ignorant, neither concurred with thoſe jeſuits, nor

* Cardinal D'Oſſat, in his letter of the 28th of May, 1601, to M. de Villeroi, ſays, that at the ſuggeſtion of an Engliſh jeſuit, whoſe name was father Perſonio (or Parſons) rector of the Engliſh college at Rome, and devoted to the king of Spain, if he was ſo to any, the Pope created in England a certain arch-prieſt, to whoſe authority all the eccleſiaſtics, and even all the other catholics of England, were to be ſubject. By this means, adds he, it was propoſed to have the greater part of the catholics of England under the Pope's influence.

Spain,

Spain, but, on the contrary, liſtened very favourably to the ſecular clergy, who had deputed three of their body to Rome, having a paſſport under the hand of Cecil himſelf: which is a proof that Elizabeth thought ſhe ought to defend the ſeculars; and alſo, that ſhe looked upon the others as her real enemies. Henry had been of the ſame opinion with Elizabeth, and the common intereſt had from the firſt determined him to ſupport the Engliſh clergy at the court of Rome againſt the Spaniſh cabal. 1603.

From hence it was that the enemies of France had taken occaſion to prejudice James againſt us *, by inſinuating to him, that Henry had ſupported the Engliſh clergy only with deſign to gain them in his own intereſts, and that from the ſame views with Spain. It was not difficult for me to undeceive the king of England in this reſpect. I repreſented to him, that Henry having conſidered, that to prevent the whole body of the catholics of Britain from entering into the Spaniſh intereſts, was a point of the utmoſt conſequence; he had therefore been indiſpenſably obliged to appear in their favour upon ſeveral occaſions; but that he had been ſo far from having had any thoughts of entering with them into any deſign prejudicial to his authority, that on the contrary, his ſole intention had been to oppoſe this common enemy; and that had the catholics departed in the leaſt from their duty, or even appeared ſo to do, he would from that moment have abandoned them.

James was ſo fully ſatisfied with this account, that he acquainted me with the regulations which

* The king of England cannot be conſidered as blameable for having taken umbrage againſt France upon that account. The ſame cardinal gives us to underſtand, that the political views of the Spaniſh party were by this means to unite the Pope, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the Engliſh catholics, whereby to place a catholic king upon the throne of England. But it is likewiſe true, that Henry IV. was not only ignorant of this deſign, but alſo that he had acquieſced with Elizabeth in quite different purpoſes. This fact is related in the Septennary, an. 1604.

1603. he meditated in regard to the Roman catholics of his kingdom; "from your information, ſaid he, "and with the approbation of Henry." He had afterwards ſeveral opportunities of being convinced that I had not impoſed on him, particularly by a letter which the Pope's nuncio wrote to him from Paris, relating to the Engliſh catholics. James anſwered this letter in a more obliging manner than was uſual with the court of London to letters received from the court of Rome; and being perhaps determined by my reaſons, he not only entered into the ſame views in regard to this affair which good policy had ſuggeſted to Henry, but it alſo ſeemed probable, that to ſecure the Engliſh catholic party, he would chuſe rather to have recourſe to the Pope and his miniſters than to any foreign prince. The Pope, on his ſide, did not ſhew himſelf inſenſible of this preference *: one Colvil having dedicated a book to him which he had wrote againſt that prince, when only king of Scotland, his holineſs would neither receive the work, nor permit the author to ſtay in Rome. Henry had acquainted me with this circumſtance, that I might, if I thought proper, relate it to the king of England; and Henry had been informed of it in the letters which my brother wrote to him from Rome.

Upon my departure, at the concluſion of this my ſecond audience, I was informed that this prince was to ſet out the Monday following to meet the queen; and I judged, that the audience which his majeſty promiſed to grant me on Sunday the 29th, would, on this account, probably be the laſt I ſhould obtain; and as I was afraid I ſhould not be able to

* We muſt believe either that his Holineſs had no concern in the political deſign which I mentioned in the preceding note, as related by cardinal D'Oſſat; or that, perceiving it had miſcarried, he had conceived that of gaining, if it were poſſible, the king of England, who had at firſt ſhewn himſelf ſo favourably diſpoſed to the catholics, that it was reported he would become ſo himſelf; and that he had only pretended to be of the reformed religion, in order to aſcend the throne without oppoſition.

conclude

conclude my negotiation in one more, I determined to demand another of him before that on Sunday. James replied, that he could not grant this requeſt, all his time being abſolutely engaged till Sunday; but that he would ſend his miniſters on Friday the 27th to confer with me and prepare matters. 1603.

Accordingly, on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there came to me admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland and Mar, lord Mountjoy, lieutenant general in Ireland, and the ſecretary Cecil, who was the ſpeaker. After the firſt compliments were over, Cecil told me, that the king of England thought he could not better ſhew his moſt Chriſtian majeſty how ſenſible he was, both of the uprightneſs of his intentions, and his ability in the conduct of great affairs, than by wholly relying upon him in all that concerned the relief of Oſtend, and the ſupport of the States.

I was immediately ſenſible of this ſecretary's artifice, and the deſign of it, in thus conſtruing what I had ſaid to the king of England in a manner different to my real meaning. I replied, that indeed the king my maſter would have been extremely glad to have had ſome meaſures taken in Europe, to prevent the invaſions of Flanders by Spain; but that he was ſo far from having ſent me to give law to his Britannic majeſty, that he did not himſelf know what conduct to purſue with regard to the affairs of thoſe provinces, with the true ſtate of which he was not even well acquainted; that it was therefore vain to think of penetrating into what Henry might have determined in his mind as to the States, becauſe, in reality, he had not as yet determined on any thing; that nothing farther could be concluded from what I had ſaid to his Britannic majeſty, than that when he ſhould be well diſpoſed towards them, I could engage that the diſpoſitions of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would not be contrary to his, and, in a word, that I was come about no other deſign, than to be

1603. informed of the intentions of the king and parliament of England.

Cecil replied, that he had no ſurreptitious deſign upon me by what he had ſaid, but only to hear my ſentiments of the preſent ſituation of affairs, and to know whether any expedient had been thought on in the council of France, to obviate the difficulties which at London this enterpriſe ſeemed to be ſo full of, that it appeared impoſſible to be executed. He confeſſed, in ſetting forth theſe pretended difficulties, that a pacific agreement between Spain and the Low Countries would, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, occaſion the loſs of theſe provinces. Then reaſoning from the falſe concluſion, that there was no medium between ſuch an agreement and an open war with Spain, he endeavoured to ſhew, that the war would be ſtill leſs agreeable, than the peace, to England, which was already exhauſted, though at a time too when great expences were requiſite in conſequence of the coronation: and he concluded yet more peremptorily than before, that France muſt alone be engaged in the execution of her deſigns. He added, indeed, that England might in a year be able to ſecond them. The riches and power of France were alſo a ſubject which did not eſcape him. Finally, he attempted, with all the addreſs he was maſter of, to make me declare, that the king of France, being reſolved to make the buſineſs of the States his own, deſired no other favour of England than that of a neutrality, to which, no doubt, he would give his conſent with joy.

I gave Cecil to underſtand, by ſmiling at his laſt words, that he had laid this ſnare for me in vain; and I told him, that, without ſeriouſly replying to propoſitions which I plainly perceived he had made only to give me an occaſion of ſpeaking, it was ſufficient for me to deſire him to take notice of one thing, which he ought to know as well as myſelf, and this was, that England, by ſuffering France to act alone for ſome time before ſhe joined

her, inſtead of laying the foundation of an alliance with her, would thereby rather lay the foundation of a rupture, becauſe one would expect to enjoy the conqueſts which ſhe might make during this time, and the other would doubtleſs require to partake of them. I addreſſed myſelf perſonally to Cecil, and told him, that, nevertheleſs, this would not prevent my agreeing with him, in caſe his propoſal for an union with France within a year had been ſincere on his part, becauſe the king of France would rather chuſe to defer the declaration of war againſt Spain, which he mentioned, till this time, an open war being altogether as inconvenient to France, in the preſent ſituation of her affairs, as it was to England. 1603.

Upon this occaſion, I thought I ought again to repeat, and in terms the moſt explicit, that I was not come to propoſe to the Engliſh council a declaration of war from the two kings of France and England againſt Spain; but only to repreſent, that good policy required them not to ſuffer the United-Provinces to be oppreſſed for want of ſuccours, which might be given them without diſturbing the quiet of the reſt of Europe; and to confer with his Britannic majeſty upon the nature of theſe ſuccours, and the other ſteps to be taken, both at preſent and in future, in favour of the Flemiſh. Upon this, the king's counſellors thanked me for the ſincerity with which I had ſpoken; and Cecil, having nothing farther to reply, told me, that he would go and confer with his majeſty hereupon, that then he would converſe with the deputies of the States about it, and, if I deſired it, even in my preſence, which I did not think proper to oppoſe: having ſaid this we ſeparated.

Count d'Aremberg, having long deferred from time to time demanding his audience, ſent at laſt to deſire the king of England would diſpenſe with it entirely, on account of his indiſpoſition, and that he would only ſend one of his counſellors to confer with him. James did not appear ſatisfied with

1603. this procedure; he however granted him what he desired, and Cecil was the person charged with this commission. Cecil, who was perfectly well acquainted with the reports current at that time concerning himself, being desirous to avoid giving any new cause to vilify him upon this occasion, sought to be excused, and desired that he might, at least, have an adjunct, that is, a witness of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanswerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was desirous the public should believe he absolutely possessed. Kintore, a Scotchman, was the person associated with him.

D'Aremberg confined himself wholly to compliment and to the most general terms: when pressed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a soldier, and had no skill in negotiation; that he was come only to hear what the king of England had to say to him, and that, after him, his master would send a man of business. These words were repeated and spread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deserved: indeed no ambassador was perhaps ever before guilty of so great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people so acute as the Spaniards; it was of great disservice to them in the English council, and brought part of those who composed it to favour me; and if the designs of Spain were not hereby entirely frustrated, which they might have been, it was because this aukward behaviour was repaired by the address of the other partisans of this crown, having Cecil himself at their head, notwithstanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed; it was even entirely forgot, when it was said that the Spanish ambassador, who began to be no longer expected, would soon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival to begin the dissipation he was preparing for my projects, and the other counsellors appeared disposed to fall into their former irre-

ſolution. I was even informed from good hands, 1603.
that it not being doubted but this ambaſſador would make propoſals to his Britannic majeſty, accompanied by irreſiſtible offers, part of theſe counſellors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby from the ſums contained in this account on one ſide, and the treaſures of Spain diſburſed in London on the other, nothing might be proof againſt them.

What was moſt remarkable in my reception on Sunday the 29th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his majeſty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In purſuance of his majeſty's directions, I arrived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was preſent with him at divine ſervice, in which there was a ſermon: he ſaid nothing particular to me from the time of my arrival to our ſetting down to table; the converſation turned almoſt entirely upon the chace and the weather; the heat was exceſſive, and much more violent than was uſual at London in this month. There were only Beaumont and myſelf who ſat with James at table, where I was not a little ſurpriſed to behold that he was always ſerved on the knee: a ſurtout, in form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained moſt coſtly veſſels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

The converſation continued the ſame as before, during great part of the entertainment: but an opportunity offering for the king to ſpeak of the late queen of England, he did it, and to my great regret, with ſome ſort of contempt; he even went ſo far as to ſay, that, in Scotland, long before the death of that princeſs, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her miniſters, by whom he had been better ſerved and obeyed than herſelf. He than called for ſome wine, his cuſtom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glaſs in his hand

1603. hand towards Beaumont and me, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without forgetting his children. He inclined himſelf to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me ſoftly, that the next health he would drink ſhould be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houſes. He had never till now ſaid to me a ſingle word about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well choſen. I failed not, however, to receive the propoſal with all poſſible marks of joy, and replied ſoftly, that I was certain Henry would not heſitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the ſame ſubject. James, ſurprized at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the ſame offers of the Infanta for his ſon, as ſhe had to France for the Dauphin. The king of England appeared to me to be ſtill in the ſentiments in which I had left him in our laſt conference; though he gave me no opportunity of converſing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were preſent, that he approved every thing that had been done in the laſt conference between the counſellors and me; that he would not ſuffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which ſuccours were to be granted them ſhould be ſettled. For this purpoſe he gave orders that his counſellors ſhould, the next day in the afternoon, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought theſe words ſufficiently authoriſed me immediately to put into the hands of his Britannic majeſty the form of a treaty, which I had drawn up and brought with me; and this I accordingly did in the preſence of his miniſters. Having found means, in the courſe of the converſation, to drop ſome few complaints of the piracies of the Engliſh upon the French, the king ſaid, that this happened

contrary

contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the Engliſh admiral, who appeared himſelf inclined to vindicate what had been done. At laſt, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he uſually paſſed part of the afternoon, and ſometimes even the whole of it. 1603.

The journey which James was to have made having been prevented or deferred, I hoped I ſhould, without difficulty, be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to ſay; and this gave me ſome conſolation for having done ſo little this day. For notwithſtanding what has here been ſaid of reſolutions and ſuccours in ſupport of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the iſſue which I deſired; for the king of England ſtill referred me, for the concluſion of them, to the ſame perſons as before; and theſe, I very well knew, were not diſpoſed in my favour: nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy preſage, for they were very far from conſidering themſelves as having ſucceeded in their offenſive and defenſive alliance with France and England, with which they had ſometimes flattered themſelves. They reſolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at leaſt ſecure France in their intereſts.

For this purpoſe Barnevelt repaired to me before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehenſions in regard to the preſent ſituation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spaniſh ambaſſdor, which was always ſaid to be very near, he told me, that the Hollanders, being reduced to the loweſt ebb of deſpair, would abandon every thing, and ſeek an aſſylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt obſerved, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations: I told him, that it was the Engliſh council, and not I, which was to be perſuaded; becauſe I was ſufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed ſituation.

He

1603. He endeavoured to prove to me, that if nothing could be obtained of the king of England, good policy required that France ſhould openly and alone eſpouſe the cauſe of the United Provinces, before their ſtrength and ſpirits were entirely ſpent and exhauſted. I replied, that he required of me what was not in my power, becauſe I was come to London only, if it were poſſible, to enter into an aſſociation with the Engliſh, and in caſe they refuſed this, to know their reaſons.

After this, we had ſome diſcourſe about the towns deſtined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me, that Cecil, in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemiſh deputies, had given him to underſtand, that England being reſolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the ceſſion of thoſe places as a ſecurity; and in conſequence of this ceſſion, Cecil had only promiſed him, that theſe towns ſhould be preſerved in a ſtrict neutrality, till the payment of the States debt. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as intereſting as it really was, acquainted me, though with all the reſerve which ought to be obſerved by a man entruſted upon oath with the ſecrets of his council, that the States had put things in ſuch a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could ſee itſelf in poſſeſſion of thoſe places. But from hence he alſo inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the conſequence of this would probably be a war between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reaſon that he preſſed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confeſſed to Barnevelt, that I could not blame the reſolution of his maſters; but that the king of France, upon this occaſion, could only lament their ſituation, not being in a condition to ſupport them with open force againſt Spain and England together.

In

In the afternoon, all the Flemiſh deputies came in a body to aſſiſt in the conference; and ſoon after them the Engliſh counſellors, appointed by his Britannic majeſty, alſo arrived. Cecil being, as uſual, the ſpeaker for all of them, began by ſaying directly, that the king of England was really in the intereſt of the States. And turning to me, he aſked me, whether this was not what I deſired, and the real deſign of my commiſſion? I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive, from this blunt haſty procedure of the ſecretary; and inſtead of giving him a direct anſwer, I addreſſed myſelf to the deputies, and told them, that two great kings deſigning to intereſt themſelves in their affairs, they ought therefore juſtly to repreſent the ſtate of them; that from a full and perfect knowledge of their neceſſity, the ſuccours which they wanted might be aſcertained. Barnevelt, as uſual, drew a picture of the miſeries to which Spain had reduced them; and theſe he deſcribed in as lively and affecting a manner as he poſſibly could. But to come more immediately to the buſineſs, he ſaid, it was neceſſary that the Spaniards ſhould be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to ſucceed in this in the ſpace of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner: That the whole force of the United Provinces amounted to about twelve or fifteen thouſand infantry, not including the garriſons, and three thouſand cavalry, beſides fifty ſhips actually in a condition to ſerve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that therefore nothing more was neceſſary, than for the two kings to double theſe forces, by furniſhing an equal number of each as abovementioned. 1603.

I was apprehenſive theſe propoſitions would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authoriſe the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt, that he ſhould have

1603. have been more careful only to aſk what could be granted. I then aſked Cecil, in a manner ſomewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his maſter, with regard to what was here propoſed to him. Cecil replied, that his Britannic majeſty would have been glad to have maintained himſelf in a ſolid and ſincere peace with all his neighbours; that, as far as could be judged from the ſtate of France, and from mere appearances, his moſt chriſtian majeſty was probably of the ſame ſentiments. Nevertheleſs, that from the remonſtrances which I had made to the king of England, this prince was determined to purſue the medium between his own deſires and thoſe of the States, that is, he would conſent privately to aſſiſt the United-Provinces: that perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at preſent they muſt expect nothing farther.

The deputies not doubting but this reſolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themſelves upon what had been ſaid by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his diſcourſe, ſaid, that indeed the king of England was very willing to aſſiſt the States, but that he had no deſire to ruin himſelf for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars, in regard to the nature of theſe pretended ſuccours, that he might not be afterwards anſwerable for any promiſes or poſitive engagements; but he ſaid, that in caſe Spain ſhould carry her reſentment ſo far as perſonally to attack the two kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both ſides, France muſt contribute eight thouſand infantry and two thouſand cavalry, and England one half of that number; and the ſame rule might be obſerved in regard to the ſquadrons which it would be neceſſary to have upon the coaſt of Spain, and in the Indies: and he farther declared, that England had no fund to defray the expences of theſe forces, except the money owing from France, which

which was to be paid in two years; but that the king of England would willingly ſacrifice it for the ſervice of the common cauſe. 1603.

I was extremely diſſatisfied at the Engliſh ſecretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any poſitive agreement, by purpoſely evading the ſtate of the queſtion, and by raiſing only anticipated difficulties; but I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a ſubject to be talked of in ſo vague a manner; that it was above all things neceſſary, without an equivocation, abſolutely to determine what ſhould be done in favour of the United-Provinces, and for the relief of Oſtend; that, after this, whether the council of his Britiſh majeſty might be inclined to a war, or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other conſiderable matters to diſcuſs, in regard to the following ſuppoſitions; firſt, that this crown ſhould attack only one of the two kings, or ſhould attack them both; ſecondly, that the two kings ſhould declare themſelves the aggreſſors; and laſtly, that they ſhould endeavour to make conqueſts upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries.

To make Cecil yet more ſenſible that he ſcarce entered at all into the affair, I repreſented to him, that, in caſe of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the ſuperiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, beſides twenty thouſand men which he would have in Flanders, would alſo be indiſpenſably obliged to have the ſame number upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Breſſe, not to mention the ſquadrons of gallies which he muſt alſo have to ſecure the Mediterranean; that it was neceſſary even now to determine theſe matters, and to prevent being expoſed to a thouſand perplexing diſcuſſions, ſufficient to deſtroy the harmony between the allied princes.

Then

1603. Then replying more particularly to what Cecil had ſaid, I told him, I could not conceive for what reaſons he was for caſting upon the king of France the whole or greateſt part of the expence of a war, in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the king of England; that if by ſuch means the Britiſh council ſought to diſtreſs Henry, it but ill underſtood its intereſts, nor conſidered that, though an equality of expences ſhould be ſtipulated, France would certainly have other expences to defray, perhaps even greater than theſe; ſuch were thoſe for the defence of her coaſts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemy's forces, would not be leſs ſerviceable to England than to France. I added, that, for all theſe reaſons, I thought the Engliſh council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the ſum lent to France; that Henry was ſo far from expecting any ſuch matter, that he had given me no orders about it; that I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to diſcharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late queen; and that within the current year he propoſed to pay two hundred thouſand livres; but again, that the Britiſh council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by ſhewing, from their unreaſonable difficulties and ſuſpicions, that their ſole view was more and more to exhauſt France; which conduct was very malignant, and abſolutely oppoſite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifeſted nothing but honeſty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

What I ſaid made not the impreſſion upon my hearers which I deſired; on the contrary, the Engliſh took fire, and proteſted, if any thing farther was inſiſted on, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil more eſpecially, in this conference, completed his making himſelf known to me for what he really was; he made uſe only of double expreſſions, vague

vague propoſals, and falſe meanings, being perfectly 1603.
ſenſible that reaſon was not on his ſide. The moderation and ſincerity which I oppoſed to his ill-deſigning ſubtilties, forced him into contradictions, which, when by a ſingle word I made him feel the ridiculouſneſs of what he ſaid, put him into confuſion. Sometimes thinking to intimidate me, he magnified the forces of England; ſometimes he endeavoured to ſhew the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain; he watched opportunities to wreſt any words which might drop from me or the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciouſly ſuppoſed that we had ſaid things which we never thought of; he proceeded ſo far, as to endeavour to raiſe diſcord between me and the deputies, by caſting upon me the refuſal of openly aſſiſting the States: he, and his collegues by his direction, demanded that France ſhould immediately pay to England, in part of what ſhe owed, forty or fifty thouſand pounds ſterling; and he told the deputies, that theſe ſums ſhould be employed for the relief of their moſt preſſing neceſſities, and, upon my refuſal, they all ſaid it could be imputed only to me, becauſe, ſaid they, all the money in France was in my diſpoſal. If all the merit of thoſe we uſually call able politicians conſiſts in thus endeavouring to enſnare the open and undeſigning, and to make theſe bear the blame of their wickedneſs, while they at the ſame time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very deſpicable thing. What piqued me the moſt was to ſee that theſe miniſters, who were here only to ſet forth the intentions of the king, impudently ſubſtituted their own inſtead of them; for I knew well, and was firmly perſuaded, from the manner in which this prince had talked to them in my preſence, that he had given them quite contrary commands.

The deputies, who had returned, and were preſent during this, again retired, greatly diſſatisfied no doubt, and in more perplexity than before; where-

1603. upon Cecil again changed his battery: he ſaid, that ſince the king of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unleſs her expences therein were defrayed by France and the States; which neither of them being really able to do, the beſt conduct therefore which the two kings could purſue, would be to continue to live in friendſhip, but without intermeddling with any foreign diſputes whatſoever. This, probably, was what the ſecretary really propoſed; and, notwithſtanding the length and frequency of his diſcourſes, was all he had ever uttered with ſincerity.

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the Engliſh, believing perhaps that they had gained their point with me, ſaid, they would relate to the king every thing which had paſſed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things ſhould be expeditiouſly ſettled on this footing, and this audience would probably be my laſt, and that wherein I ſhould take my leave, becauſe, after this, nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept ſilence upon this occaſion, moſt certainly it was not becauſe I acquieſced in what they ſaid; on the contrary, the manner in which they had again expoſed themſelves, and as it were confeſſed themſelves to be liars and impoſtors, had inſpired me with the utmoſt contempt for them; but I judged, that expoſtulation or paſſion would be ſo far from making them quit a reſolution which they had concerted together, that perhaps it might rather tend to promote a rupture; whereas, as matters were at preſent ſituated, friendſhip at leaſt ſubſiſted between the two kings, and as this friendſhip might be more ſtrongly cemented by a double marriage (which was publicly talked of) ſome more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not abſolutely deſpair of the ſucceſs of my commiſſion, becauſe I thought I perceived the king had no concern in the deſigns which

which his counſellors thus endeavoured to put in execution. 1603.

To come at a certainty in reſpect to this, was what I propoſed in my third audience; for I do not conſider as ſuch my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the king, and this prince ſent Erſkine to tell me, that it ſhould be on the day after the conference here related, and that I ſhould bring but few of my retinue with me, becauſe he wanted to diſcourſe with me in particular; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the earl of Mar. The lords Hume and Seaford about noon came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the earl of Derby, who conducted me into the king's apartment. I had with me only four gentlemen and two ſecretaries.

The king of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that no one ſhould follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he alſo ſecured. He embraced me twice, with expreſſions that ſhewed how greatly he was ſatisfied with the king of France and me, and how ſenſible he was of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's having ſent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was moſt neceſſary to him; he inſiſted, that making uſe of the preſent opportunity, I ſhould ſpeak to him without any reſerve. This moment therefore ſeemed favourable to me, to complain to him of his miniſters; and after the uſual complimentary thanks, I accordingly told him, that it was much more advantageous to me in all reſpects to confer with him than his counſellors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the laſt conference, had alſo, without doubt, given him a falſe account of what had paſſed between them and me and the Flemiſh deputies; and I promiſed, if he would give me leave, to give him a ſincere and juſt relation of every thing.

1603. The king approving my propoſal, I acquainted him with all that had paſſed between us the preceding evening; I inſiſted more eſpecially upon the demand to diſcharge the debt owing to England, and on the aſperſion upon his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and me, with which it had been accompanied; I added, that if after having filled my letters to Henry only with elogies on the generoſity, the prudence, and the perfect friendſhip of the prince to whom I had the honour of ſpeaking, and this becauſe he himſelf had authoriſed me to do it, both by his words and actions, I ſhould be obliged, on a ſudden, to write to him in a quite contrary ſtyle, without having any reaſon to alledge for it, other than difficulties entirely frivolous, the king my maſter could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering, and perhaps an unfaithful miniſter, to the intereſts with which he had entruſted me; and it would beſides be conſidered as the effect of a determined friendſhip with Spain, from whence, perhaps, a rupture might enſue between the two kings, whoſe intereſt as well as inclination required their continuing in a conſtant ſtate of union. I thought I ought not to heſitate upon informing the king of England, that there were ſeveral of thoſe whom he admitted into his council who were neither well diſpoſed in themſelves, nor well affected to his perſon; that, without naming them to him, he ought to conſider as ſuch all thoſe who appeared ſo little ſolicitous for his glory, and the honour of his crown, as to adviſe him, under the name of an ally, to render himſelf the ſlave of Spain; that he would do well to be, in ſome degree, diffident of ſuch perſons whoſe characters he was not perfectly well acquainted with, and to be guided rather by his own wiſdom, than the repreſentations of his miniſters.

It was no difficult matter to inſpire the king of England with a diffidence of his miniſters, for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The change

change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my laſt words, his geſture and ſome expreſſions that eſcaped him, convinced me my obſervation was juſt; I even thought I plainly perceived, that either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praiſes I laviſhed on him, this prince was at laſt in the moſt favourable diſpoſition I could wiſh him; I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce in our converſation ſome general hints of a project, by which, with the aſſiſtance of his Britannic majeſty, the tranquillity of all Europe might be ſecured. Having ſaid this, I remained ſilent, as though I had been apprehenſive of fatiguing him by too long a diſcourſe: but I knew the curioſity of James would be excited by the little I had ſaid; accordingly he replied, that my diſcourſe had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and aſked ſome of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him that it was not three o'clock, "Well, Sir, ſaid the king "to me, returning, I will break off the party for "the chace which I had made for this day, that I "may hear you to the end, and this employment "will, I am perſuaded, be of more ſervice to me "than the other." 1603.

The reaſon that induced me to hazard a ſtep of ſuch conſequence, as that of communicating to king James the great deſigns upon Spain and all Europe, which had been concerted between Henry and Elizabeth, was, that being perſuaded this prince, was already of himſelf inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to be determined in this reſolution from ſome great and noble motive; and becauſe, on the other ſide, his miniſters conſtantly brought him back to their manner of thinking, apparently becauſe he could not ſupport himſelf againſt them, from a perſuaſion that they oppoſed his ſentiments only through ignorance of them. How-

1603. ever, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very neceſſary.

I therefore reſumed the diſcourſe, and told him, that, without doubt, he had ſometimes thought, and with good reaſon, that a man in poſſeſſion of the places and honours with which I was known to be inveſted, never quitted his poſt but for a very urgent occaſion; that this was my caſe; that though my commiſſion was only to require an union between France and England, yet nevertheleſs, from the opinion I had conceived, which fame had not been ſilent in reporting, of his genius and abilities, I had reſolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to diſcourſe with his Britannic majeſty on ſomething infinitely more conſiderable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of ſuch a nature, that I could not reveal it to him without expoſing myſelf to ruin, unleſs he would engage by the moſt ſolemn oath to keep it a ſecret. James, who liſtened to me with a profound attention, heſitated however at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unneceſſary, he endeavoured himſelf to diſcover what it was of ſo intereſting a nature which I had to communicate to him. But finding my anſwers to the different queſtions which he ſucceſſively aſked me gave him not the leaſt light into the affair, he ſatisfied me at laſt by the moſt ſacred and ſolemn of all oaths, I mean that of the holy ſacrament.

Though I had now nothing to fear from his indiſcretion, yet, however, I carefully weighed all my words; and beginning with an article, in which I knew the king of England was moſt intereſted, I mean religion, I told him, that however I might appear to him engaged in worldly honours and affairs, and how indifferent ſoever he might perhaps have ſuppoſed me to be in matters of religion, yet it was no leſs certain that I was attached to mine, even ſo much as to prefer it to my family, fortune, country, and even king; that I had neglected nothing

thing which might incline the king my maſter to eſtabliſh it in France upon ſolid foundations, being under great apprehenſions leſt it might one day be overwhelmed by ſo powerful a faction, as that of an union of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, the arch-dukes, the catholic princes of Germany, and ſo many other ſtates and communities intereſted in its ſuppreſſion; that my ſucceſs hitherto had been tolerable; but that perhaps I was indebted for it only to junctures purely political, which had engaged Henry in a party oppoſite to the houſe of Auſtria. That becauſe theſe circumſtances might change, or becauſe I, who was the only perſon that would uſe any endeavours to make Henry continue firm in this political plan, might loſe my place and his favour, I did not ſee how the king of France could reſiſt a party, which both his religion, and the example of others, would call upon him to embrace. That this conſideration had long inſpired me with the thoughts of finding a perſon for the execution of this deſign, who by his rank and power would be more proper than me to accompliſh it, and fix Henry in his ſentiments. That having found all that I had ſought for in the prince to whom I had the honour of ſpeaking, my choice had not been difficult to fix. In a word, that it depended only upon himſelf to immortalize his memory, and become the arbitrator of the fate of Europe, by a deſign to which he would always appear to have put the finiſhing hand, though he might not be more concerned in the execution than his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. 1603.

There remained only to explain to him the nature of this deſign, of which at firſt I gave nothing farther than a general idea, under the notion of a project for an aſſociation of all the princes and ſtates in Europe, whoſe intereſt it was to diminiſh the power of the houſe of Auſtria, the foundation of which ſhould be an offenſive and defenſive alliance between France, England, and Holland, cemented

1603. by the cloſeſt union of the two royal houſes of Bourbon and Stuart. I repreſented this aſſociation in a light which ſhewed it might be very eaſily formed. There was not the leaſt difficulty in regard to Denmark, Sweden, in a word, all the proteſtant princes and ſtates; and it might be rendered ſufficiently advantageous to engage in it the catholic princes alſo: for example, the turbulent and ambitious diſpoſition of the duke of Savoy might be ſoothed with hopes of obtaining the title of king; and the princes of Germany, with promiſes to diſtribute among them thoſe parts of it which the houſe of Auſtria poſſeſſed, as Bohemia, Auſtria, Hungary, Moravia, Sileſia, &c. and to re-eſtabliſh their antient privileges: even the Pope himſelf might be gained, by granting him the property of thoſe countries of which he only poſſeſſed the feodality. In regard to the king of France, though I endeavoured to perſuade James that he had hitherto had no concern in this project, which I pretended was entirely of my own forming; I, however, ſaid, that when I ſhould have communicated it to him, I could ſafely engage he would have no thoughts, either of retaining any conqueſts which might be made, or being recompenſed for them; though, according to all appearances, the greateſt part of the burden would fall upon him, as well in the expences neceſſary for the carrying on the enterpriſe, as his own perſonal ſervices. I imagined it was moſt proper to give the affair this turn in regard to Henry, that he might not be under too abſolute an obligation.

The king of England immediately ſtarted ſome objections, upon the difficulty of uniting ſo many different princes ſo differently diſpoſed; the ſame nearly which Henry had made when we had laſt diſcourſed upon it at Montglat, upon his return from Metz: though from the ſlight ſketch which I had given him of the deſign, he, however, appeared highly to approve it, and expreſſed a deſire of

of being more circumſtantially informed of it. In conformity with which deſire, the following is the ſubſtance of what I ſaid to his Britannic majeſty. 1603.

Europe is divided into two factions, which are not ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed by their different religions, becauſe the catholics and proteſtants are confounded together in almoſt all places, as they are by their political intereſts; the firſt is compoſed of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, Spaniſh Flanders, part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland, Savoy, the catholic ſtates of Italy, which are Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, &c. Herein likewiſe muſt be compriſed, the catholics diſperſed in other parts of Europe, at the head of which may be placed the turbulent order of Jeſuits, whoſe views, no doubt, are to ſubject every thing to the Spaniſh monarchy. The ſecond includes the kings of France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden; the republic of Venice, the United-Provinces, and the other part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland: I do not take in Poland, Pruſſia, Livonia, Muſcovy, and Tranſylvania, though theſe countries are ſubject to the chriſtian religion, becauſe the wars in which they are almoſt continually engaged with the Turks and Tartars, render them in ſome manner foreign in regard to thoſe of the weſtern part of Europe.

Were the power to be eſtimated in proportion to the pomp of titles, the extent of territories, and the number of inhabitants, it appears, on the ſlighteſt glance, not very favourable to the ſecond of theſe factions, and the ſuperiority would apparently be determined in favour of the firſt: nevertheleſs, nothing is more erroneous than ſuch an opinion, which may thus be proved: Spain, which muſt here be named firſt of her faction (though from rank and dignity ſhe is only the third) becauſe ſhe is in reality the ſoul of it; Spain, I ſay, including her dominions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, does

1603. does indeed poſſeſs an extent of territory as large as Turky and Perſia together. But if it be true (and that it is ſo cannot be doubted) that the new world, in recompence of its gold and other riches, deprives Spain both of her ſhips and inhabitants, this immenſe extent of territory, inſtead of being ſerviceable, is burdenſome.

And if we conſider the other powers of this party, we ſhall every where find reaſon to diminiſh our ordinary ideas. The pope ſeems firmly attached to Spain; and, ſurrounded as he is on all ſides by this formidable power, and having no reaſon to expect ſuccours from any of the other catholic princes, it is, no doubt, his intereſt to be ſo. But as he does, in fact, conſider his ſituation as but little different from real ſervitude; and as he is not ignorant that Spain and the Jeſuits only make a vain appearance of ſupporting his authority; it may, doubtleſs, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himſelf from the Spaniſh yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which ſhould offer to render him their ſervice, without the running any great riſk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

In regard to the emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which ſeems only to increaſe the jealouſies and quarrels which ſo frequently ariſe between theſe two branches of Auſtrian power: beſides, what is his power? it conſiſts merely in his title. Hungary, Bohemia, Auſtria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Expoſed as he is, on one ſide, to incurſions of the formidable armies of the Grand Signior; liable, on the other ſide, to ſee the territories under his dominion tear themſelves in pieces, by the multiplicity and diverſity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehenſions alſo, leſt the electoral princes ſhould riſe and make an attempt to regain their ancient privileges. Indeed the preſent Emperor, all things

juſtly conſidered, might perhaps be claſſed among the moſt inconſiderable of the European powers: beſides, this Auſtrian branch appears to me ſo deſtitute of good ſubjects, that if it hath not ſoon a prince, either brave or wiſe enough to unite the different members of which Germany is compoſed, it will have every thing to fear from the princes of its circles, whoſe only aim it is, to get their liberty, in religion and election, reſtored to them. I do not except even the elector of Saxony, though he appears the more ſincerely attached to the Emperor, as to him of whom he holds his principality, becauſe it is evident his religion muſt, ſooner or later, ſet him at variance with his benefactor. But ſuppoſing the Emperor to receive all the returns of gratitude which he can expect from this elector, this will amount to nothing, or but very little, ſo long as he ſhall be under apprehenſions from the branch of John-Frederic, whom he has deprived of this electorate. 1603.

Thus, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almoſt all the powers on which Spain ſeems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her but little ſervice. No one is ignorant, that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themſelves from the dominion of the Emperor, and even to aggrandiſe themſelves at his expence. Nor has he any greater dependence on the eccleſiaſtical princes, than on the others. A foreign Emperor is what they moſt wiſh, provided he is not a proteſtant. Nothing could give the arch-dukes a greater pleaſure, as much Spaniards as they are, than a regulation, by which they ſhould, in Flanders, become ſovereigns independent of Spain, weary at length of being only her ſervants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the king of Spain, for doing ſo much leſs for the daughter

1603. daughter which he beſtowed upon him, than for her younger ſiſter. As to Italy, it need only be obſerved, that it will be obliged to acquieſce in the will of the ſtronger party.

It is therefore certain, that the ſecond of the factions here deſcribed has nothing to fear, provided it underſtands its own intereſts well enough to continue in a conſtant ſtate of union. Now it is alſo certain, that in this ſcheme theſe ſo natural motives to diſunion do not occur; and that all of them, even that cauſed by the difference of religion, which in ſome ſort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred againſt Spain, which is the great and common motive by which theſe powers are animated. Where is the prince, in the leaſt jealous of his glory, who would refuſe to enter into an aſſociation ſtrengthened by four ſuch powerful kings as thoſe of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, cloſely united? It was a ſaying of Elizabeth's, that nothing could reſiſt theſe four powers, in ſtrict alliance with each other.

Theſe truths being ſuppoſed, it only remains to examine, by what methods the houſe of Auſtria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to poſſeſs that dominion only. Theſe methods conſiſt either in artifice or force, and I have two means for each of theſe. The firſt of the ſecret means is, to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the Indies; Spain having no more right to prohibit an intercourſe with theſe countries to the reſt of the Europeans, than ſhe has to deſtroy their natural inhabitants; and all the nations of Europe having alſo a liberty to make eſtabliſhments in the new diſcovered countries as ſoon as they have paſſed the line, this enterprize would therefore be eaſily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thouſand men, all provided and victualled for ſix months; England to furniſh the ſhips, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the moſt powerful, the money and ſoldiers. There would be no occaſion

occaſion for any other agreement, than that the conquered countries ſhould be equally divided. 1063.

During this, the ſecond of theſe means ſhould be ſecretly prepared, upon occaſion of the ſucceſſion to Cleves, and the death of the Emperor, which cannot be far diſtant, in ſuch manner, that under favour of the opportunities which theſe two incidents might furniſh, reaſons might be found to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to reſtore the antient free manner of election.

The firſt of the two open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this ſtate into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are conſidered, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liege, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle; the firſt ſide of which, from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the ſea: the ſecond is bounded by France, *viz.* by Picardy, as far as the Somme; and by the country of Meſlin, as far as Mezieres: the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologn, and Metz, as far as Duſſeldorp. It is only neceſſary to ſecure theſe three ſides in ſuch manner that they may be inacceſſible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon her the firſt, France the ſecond, the electors and the other intereſted princes the third. All the towns which ſhould happen to be upon this line, except perhaps Thionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under contribution, immediately ſubmit.

The ſecond of the two laſt means, is for the league above mentioned generally and in concert to declare war againſt Spain and the whole houſe of Auſtria. What is moſt eſſential to obſerve in regard to this war, is, that France and England ſhould renounce all pretences to any ſhare of the conqueſt, and re-

1603. linquiſh them to thoſe powers who were not of themſelves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Compté, Alſace, and Tiroll, naturally fall to the Switzers. The duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to the Pope, as being moſt convenient to him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Iſtria and Friuli. Thus it appears, the moſt ſolid foundation of this confederacy would ariſe from all the parties being gainers, by it. The reſt of Italy, ſubject to its petty princes, might perhaps be ſuffered to continue under its preſent form of government, provided that all theſe little ſtates were altogether conſidered as compoſing only one body or republic, of which they ſhould be ſo many members.

This is a pretty juſt account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic majeſty with the deſign to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I farther added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confeſſed that I was not myſelf able to elucidate the deſign; that I was not ſurpriſed that his majeſty had at firſt perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it alſo, but that they only proceeded from my own weakneſs, and the impoſſibility of ſhewing clearly what to be perfectly explained required much time and long diſcourſes; that I was convinced in my own mind, the deſign was not only poſſible, but that alſo the ſucceſs of it was infallible; that if any thing was found defective in the ſcheme as I had conceived it, it might eaſily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and ſome of the beſt generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be intruſted.

I then returned to the alliance between the two kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic majeſty, that this alliance being the chief and

and neceſſary foundation of the confederacy which I had propoſed to him, this muſt therefore neceſſarily begin it, without paying any regard to the diſcourſes of prejudiced perſons, or being affected by ſuch frivolous conſiderations as thoſe of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I aſſured him, that England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amaſſing ſuch vaſt ſums, were only deſigned hereafter to enable him of himſelf to accompliſh the greateſt part of this important deſign; at leaſt, that I could flatter myſelf with ſucceſs in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public ſervice, which operated ſo powerfully upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his moſt ſenſible part, his ambition to immortalize his memory, and his deſire of being brought in compariſon with Henry, and of ſharing his praiſes. 1603.

My earneſtneſs to ſucceed gave ſuch force and clearneſs to my expreſſions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of tranſport proceeding from his friendſhip for me, and a ſenſe of the wrong meaſures which hitherto endeavours had been uſed to make him purſue. "No, ſir, ſaid he, do not fear that I ſhall "ever fail in what we have together agreed upon." He proteſted with the ſame ardour, that he would not on any conſideration have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never contradict the good opinion which the king of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had ſaid would yet farther confirm him in the ſentiments with which I had inſpired him; that he would even now engage to ſign the plan of alliance which I had preſented to him on Sunday, and wherein he had himſelf made ſome inconſiderable alterations; that I ſhould alſo ſign it in the name of the king

1603. king of France, unleſs I rather choſe to carry it with me unſigned, to ſhew it to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in which caſe he gave me his royal word, that upon my bringing or ſending it back at the end of a month or ſix weeks, approved and ſigned by Henry, he would immediately, and without the leaſt difficulty, join to it his own ſignature. He concluded, by obligingly aſſuring me, that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the king of France. He made me promiſe the ſame ſecrecy in regard to all perſons, except the king my maſter, which I had been ſo free as to require of him; and this he extended ſo far, as to forbid me ever putting upon paper certain things, which upon this occaſion he revealed to me, and which I therefore ſuppreſs.

Our conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The king called in admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately conſidered my reaſons, he was reſolved to enter into a cloſe alliance with France againſt Spain. He reproached Cecil in very ſtrong terms, for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which explanation the ſecretary received very awkwardly. "Cecil, ſaid this prince to him, I command you, without any reply or objection, in "conformity to this my deſign, to prepare the neceſſary writings, according to which, *I will then "give the dexter**, and all aſſurances to the ambaſſadors of meſſieurs the States." This was the firſt time he had diſtinguiſhed them by this title. Then turning to me, and taking me by the hand, he ſaid, "Well, Mr. ambaſſador, are you now "perfectly ſatisfied with me?"

* This expreſſion ſignifies an oath, or promiſe of alliance, made by preſenting the right hand.

I re-

I replied by a profound reverence, and by making his majeſty the ſame proteſtations of fidelity and attachment as if it had been to my own king, and I deſired he would let me confirm it to him by kiſſing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendſhip with an air of goodneſs and confidence which very much diſpleaſed ſeveral of his counſellors that were preſent. Upon my departure, he gave orders to the earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sidney to eſcort me to London. 1603.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XVI.

1603. ALL that now remained to be done, was to put the finiſhing hand to the ſeveral particulars agreed on between the king of England and me, and ſignified by this prince to his miniſters, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a project of a treaty, between the two kings: for indeed a peace, whoſe final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptation of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, into whoſe hands it was firſt to be tranſmitted, could be called by no other name. And, upon this occaſion, I was perfectly ſenſible of the injury my negotiation received from the unhappy precaution which neceſſity had obliged Henry and I to take in the council of France, not to propoſe any thing to the king of England, but as of myſelf.

James, being more intirely perſuaded than I could have wiſhed him, that I had acted only from the ſuggeſtions of my own deſires, and for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion againſt all events which might happen, had never, from the ſecrets which I had revealed to him, conſidered me as the inſtrument of the king my maſter; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himſelf firſt, upon very promiſing appearances, indeed, that the king of France would concur with him even with greater readineſs.

But how great is the difference between ſuch a general engagement, liable to many various interpretations, and a treaty, wherein by virtue of a full power from the king, I might with all the care and exactneſs poſſible, have inſerted every particular in that clear and diſtinct manner, from whence the bonds of all political treaties acquire their ſtrength and duration. I ſhould not ſo confidently aſſert, that, upon this occaſion, inſtead of the mere formula, I had reaſon to expect his Britannic majeſty's ſignature of a compleat treaty, which it would not be poſſible for him to retract, had not the murmurs, of which the letters of the count of Beaumont to the king are full, in regard to this deficiency of a ſigned blank, been an authentic teſtimony, that I have here advanced nothing from ſuggeſtions of vanity or ſelf-love. 1603.

But I ſhould reproach myſelf with being guilty of injuſtice, were I to appear ſuſpicious of the good faith of king James; on the contrary, I affirm no prince in Europe could ſhew himſelf more jealous of it. But it happens, from I know not what fatality, that the thing in the world which one would think ought to be leaſt expoſed to the caprice of fortune, I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and maſter of its ſentiments, is, however, the moſt changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties in no other inſtance would incur the imputation of having forfeited their word, yet in this they almoſt always fail in the execution, provided they can find the ſmalleſt colour or pretence for ſo atrocious a perjury; as if eluding a ſolemn promiſe or engagement were not the ſame as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt, that, as ſoon as I was gone, the counſellors of his Britannic majeſty would uſe their utmoſt efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the moſt active for this purpoſe, for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the king

1603. on my account, and his confuſion from the converſation which I had had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were ſo many wounds which all together had abſolutely mortified him.

Nevertheleſs, it will readily be admitted that I had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my negotiation: my own ſituation in the affair conſidered*, its concluſion was as happy and advantageous as it could be; for I had gained the glory of having ſucceeded in an enterpriſe that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the riſque of being accuſed of exceeding the bounds preſcribed by my commiſſion. The king and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement, of which I had neither made them nor myſelf the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was poſſible for me to effect: as to its real utility, when conſidered in reſpect of Henry's deſign, to which I would readily have ſacrificed all other conſiderations, if I had not completely ſucceeded, it was becauſe I could not perform more without ſhewing a diſregard to the terms preſcribed, not only in my public, but even in my private inſtructions. However, from what I have done there aroſe one real and very ſenſible advantage; and this was, that, in a conjuncture, wherein there were ſo many juſt cauſes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was abſolutely fruſtrated, and his Britannic

* This embaſſy of M. de Roſny is mentioned with great elogiums, in almoſt all the hiſtories and memoirs at that time, without taking notice of many modern writers who have ſpoken of it in the ſame manner, though ſome of them, as the authors of Villeroi's memoirs of State, and of the hiſtory of the duke of Bouillon, had no intereſt in exalting the glory of that miniſter. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given, even the moſt minute circumſtances. Vol. II. p. 577, & ſeq. See alſo the manuſcripts in the king's library, vol. 9590, and the firſt volume of Siri, Mem. recond. Beſides the detail of the marquis de Roſny's embaſſy to London, which in every point agrees with what has been ſaid here, p. 226, & ſeq. we find quite through this hiſtorian many very curious remarks on the council and perſon of king James, as well as on the affairs of the Engliſh court.

majeſty

majeſty engaged in another, from which he could neither ſo ſoon nor ſo eaſily return to the former. 1603.

I therefore immediately ſet about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finiſhed I preſented to the king of England and his counſellors, to be by them finally reviſed and examined: they read it ſeveral times, ſucceſſively retouched it, and made ſome inconſiderable alterations; at laſt it was abſolutely determined in the following manner.

The king of England, after returning his moſt Chriſtian majeſty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had prevented him, and for the quality of the ambaſſador he had ſent him, renewed and confirmed the antient treaties of alliance between Elizabeth and Henry, and alſo between Scotland and France, and expreſſed his intention of applying them perſonally to himſelf by the preſent treaty, which, in a manner, comprehended them all, beſides its other principal deſign of their own perſonal defence againſt Spain, and the ſafety and preſervation of their dominions, ſubjects, and allies, in ſuch manner and at ſuch times as the two kings ſhould judge proper. The United Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies herein expreſsly named; in regard to whom it was alſo ſtipulated, that proper meaſures ſhould be taken, either perfectly to ſecure their liberty, or at leaſt, that in caſe they were conſidered as ſubjects to Spain or the empire, it ſhould be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquillity, and at the ſame time free the two allied kings from all apprehenſions of a too powerful and abſolute dominion of the houſe of Auſtria in theſe provinces.

However, beſides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themſelves openly, when either ſhould require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was alſo agreed immediately to furniſh the States-general with ſuccours ſufficient to ſecure them from oppreſ-

1603. ſion; the number of men who were to compoſe theſe ſuccours was not determined; it was only agreed, that they ſhould be ſent from England alone, and that the expences of the whole armament ſhould be defrayed by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the ſum due from France to England. It was likewiſe agreed, that theſe proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low Countries ſhould be purſued with as much ſecreſy as was poſſible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded with Spain. On a ſuppoſition that this power conſidering this action as an abſolute infraction, ſhould make repriſals upon the two protecting kings, the following reſolution was taken: if the king of England were attacked alone, the king of France ſhould furniſh him with an army of ſix thouſand French at his own expence, during the whole time of the war; and in four years, and by equal proportions, diſcharge the remainder of his debt. England ſhould act preciſely in the ſame manner, in regard to France, in caſe the ſtorm ſhould fall upon her; the choice of either ſea or land ſhould be in the option of the party attacked, nor ſhould England in this caſe require any part of her debt. Finally, ſhould Spain at once declare war againſt both the allied princes, in order to act offenſively, and at the ſame time promote the ſecurity of Flanders, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould have an army of twenty thouſand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Breſſe; he ſhould likewiſe have the ſame number of forces in Flanders; and ſhould farther divide the Spaniſh forces, by directing his galleys to cruize in the Mediterranean. His Britannic majeſty on his ſide, beſides a land army of at leaſt ſix thouſand men, which he ſhould keep in conſtant readineſs, ſhould ſend a fleet into the Weſt-Indies, and ſhould order another to cruiſe upon the coaſts of Spain. All payment of debts ſhould

ſhould be ſuſpended, and each ſhould defray its own expences. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound ſecret, ſhould now be made public, by a treaty offenſive and defenſive between the two kings; neither of whom, without the other's conſent, ſhould either lay down his arms, diminiſh the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation. 1603.

Such was the ſubſtance of the projected treaty which had given me ſo much trouble and anxiety. James ſigned it, and I ſigned it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as ſoon as poſſible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to adviſe Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed or diſguiſed part of this important information, and likewiſe the detail of what had laſt happened to me with the king of England, in preſence of his counſellors: my diſpatches had been ſo long, ſo frequent, and yet ſo imperfect, and written in ſo much haſte, that perhaps it was not acting amiſs to ſpare his majeſty the trouble; for he muſt have armed himſelf with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cauſe of my ſilence; for the regularity which Henry obſerved in writing to me, both to inform me of all material tranſactions in the council of France, and to ſend me new orders and new inſtructions, conformable to the ſeveral changes that happened in the buſineſs of my negotiation, ſufficiently perſuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or diſguſted him; but beſides that upon theſe occaſions, it is a ſtroke of good policy, always to keep ſomething in reſerve, to inſure a better reception upon one's return, I was unwilling to expoſe the whole ſecret of my negotiation to the hazard of a diſcovery. An accident which had but lately happened, contributed ſtill more to increaſe my circumſpection. I have not mentioned this in its proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater conſequence.

1603. Among the great number of letters which I ſent from London, ſome directed to Villeroi and the council, and others to the king only, one of theſe laſt, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he diſcovered from the contents of my diſpatch by the next poſt, and gave me immediate notice of it: it was a letter of the greateſt conſequence. The courier to whom I entruſted it was one of my own domeſtics, of whoſe fidelity and honeſty I was perfectly ſatisfied: I queſtioned him, and he anſwered, that, upon his arrival, the king being gone to hunt, he had carried the letter to Villeroi, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgot to aſk his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who alſo came and ſpoke to this clerk, and at the ſame time delivered him ſeveral other packets directed for his maſter. This account I ſent his majeſty, entreating him to make all poſſible enquiries about it. After great trouble, and many informations, his majeſty was able to give me no other ſatisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe, the fault was in the poſt-maſter of Ecouan.

I had before had reaſon to be ſuſpicious, and the affair of the clerk, whoſe roguery I was alſo well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted, that there was a traytor employed in the king's office, and even that this could be no other than one of thoſe under Villeroi. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that notwithſtanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had deſcribed to him in my former letter; this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the ſtate, to diſcover the contents of the letters which I wrote to his majeſty from London, could not reſiſt his deſire to open this, the direction of which excited his curioſity, for I wrote upon the cover; *Packet to be given into the king's own hands, without being opened.* He repented it no doubt, when he found

he could make no uſe of it, its moſt eſſential contents being expreſſed in a cypher, the meaning of which he could no ways diſcover; and this conſideration conſoled me for the loſs: but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards diſcovered the truth, which juſtified theſe conjectures. 1603.

Henry could have wiſhed that I had practiſed upon the queen of England and the prince her ſon, as I had on king James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations; but as, notwithſtanding the reports which had been current, this princeſs remained ſtill in Scotland, and would not arrive for ſome time, his majeſty did not think it a ſufficient conſideration for me to make a longer ſtay at London, whilſt ſeveral other affairs almoſt as important required my preſence at Paris; and he was the firſt to preſs me to return as ſoon as poſſible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me: envy and malice triumphs moſt over the abſent; my friends loſt yet more than myſelf from my not being among them. I entruſted Vaucelas * my brother-in-law with the care of carrying the queen of England the letters from their majeſties which I had brought for her; and I inſtructed him in what he ſhould do and ſay, to obtain what the king deſired to know concerning this princeſs.

Whilſt I was very buſily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I received in my mouth at the ſiege of Chartres broke out afreſh, and cauſed a fever, which retarded my departure for ſome days, and even prevented my writing as uſual to the king. But as ſoon as I was

* Andrew de Cochefilet, Baron de Vaucelas, count de Vauvinoux, &c. He was afterwards counſellor of ſtate and ambaſſador in Spain and Savoy; he was the brother of the duke of Sully's ſecond wife. The houſe of Cochefilet is mentioned in Du Cheſne, as one of the moſt antient in Perche, originally of Scotland, and allied to the kings of Scotland of the houſe of Baliol in Normandy.

ſomewhat

1603. ſomewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the king of England, who had the goodneſs to ſpare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occaſion, by ſending to acquaint me, that he would come to London on purpoſe to receive me, and that he ſhould be at Weſtminſter ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleaſed, becauſe he propoſed to go a hunting the ſame day, "to diſſipate the uneaſineſs, added he, very obligingly, which he ſhould feel for my departure."

I attended his majeſty ſo early in the morning, that he was not dreſſed, and waited near an hour, which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's Weſtminſter is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic majeſty with all poſſible marks of eſteem and affection; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt from my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was alſo moſt true, and the more ſo as he could not hope for my return, becauſe my many and various avocations would detain me in France; but he proteſted, and confirmed his proteſtations in the moſt ſolemn manner, that by whatever perſon his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould ſend back the treaty, of which I carried the form, he would ſign it without any farther diſcuſſion. He ſpoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner; ſaid he conſidered this prince as his ſole model as well as his friend; and proteſted, that he ſhould look upon all thoſe who were enemies to him, as enemies to himſelf. To ſhew me that he had not forgot any of his promiſes, he made a kind of recapitulation of all of them. He promiſed not to permit any interceſſion or acceſs to him, from any of the ſubjects of the king of France; and required the ſame deference from the king of France; particularly with regard to any jeſuits who might be found in diſguiſe, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ſhips: he praiſed Henry extremely for having

having baniſhed this order out of the kingdom, and ſaid, that he adviſed him from his heart, never to be guilty of ſuch an error as to recall them; he inſiſted on this article the moſt: for indeed he hated the jeſuits no leſs than he did Spain; and this averſion was increaſed by his conſidering them as his perſonal enemies; nor did he appear perfectly ſatisfied till I had engaged, as abſolutely as I could, to ſend theſe aſſurances, which he required of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in writing. He gave me two letters for the king and queen of France, purely complimentary, in anſwer to thoſe which he had received from them, wherein the article of the French ambaſſador was not ſlightly touched*. 1603.

Being furniſhed with theſe letters and the form of the treaty, I reſolved to ſtay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all thoſe gentlemen who were with me for this purpoſe, I departed from London, taking the ſame road as at my arrival. Sidney and the Engliſh vice-admiral eſcorted me to the ſea-ſide, and took care to provide me and all my retinue with every thing we wanted, both for our journey by land and paſſage by ſea.

But I ſhould before have mentioned the preſents which I made in England, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. That to king James was ſix fine horſes richly capariſoned, to which Henry added alſo another gift, which ought to be eſteemed ſtill more conſiderable; this was a gentleman called Saint-Anthony, in all reſpects the beſt and moſt complete horſeman of the age; that to the queen of England, was a large and moſt beautiful Venetian glaſs, the golden frame of which was covered with diamonds; and that to the prince of Wales, was a golden lance and helmet, enriched likewiſe with diamonds, a fencing-maſter, and vaulter: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Northumberland, in a word all thoſe whom I have occaſionally mentioned, beſides

* Mathieu the hiſtorian ſays, the king of England made the marquis of Roſny a preſent of a chain ſet with diamonds of great value.

ſome

1603. ſome others, were preſented, ſome with boxes, and others with crotchets, buttons, egrets, rings, and chains of gold and diamonds; ſeveral ladies alſo received rings and pearl necklaces. The value of all theſe preſents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left with Beaumont to be diſtributed in certain places, amounted to ſixty thouſand crowns. Henry's views in making ſo many rich preſents, a conſiderable part of which were even continued as penſions to ſome Engliſh lords, were to retain them, and attach them more ſtrongly to his intereſts. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to diſtribute them ſo as to avoid giving any cauſe of jealouſy between theſe Engliſh lords, and to prevent king James himſelf from conceiving any jealouſy of my intention. The precaution which I uſed for this purpoſe was to aſk his permiſſion to acknowledge, by ſome ſmall gratuities, the ſervices I had received in his court.

At Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me, that he had arrived at Villers-Coterets the ninth of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he paſſed ſome days here, during which the queen made a journey to Lieſſe. I did not take any reſt at Dover, and ordered all things to be in readineſs to embark the next day. The weather was ſo bad in the night, that the Engliſh vice admiral very ſeriouſly adviſed me to alter my reſolution. The leaſt delay appeared no leſs inſupportable to all my retinue than to myſelf, eſpecially to thoſe city ſparks who find themſelves out of their element, when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all preſſed me with ſuch eagerneſs immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with ſo favourable a reception, that I conſented to ſail as ſoon as we could. Repentance ſoon followed our precipitation; we met with ſuch a violent tempeſt, that we were in the utmoſt danger; we were the whole day in croſſing the channel, and ſo extremely

extremely ſea-ſick, that though we were three hundred of us, had a veſſel with only twenty men attacked us, we muſt have ſurrendered. 1063.

A ſecond letter which I received from Henry at Boulogne, rendered it neceſſary for me not to loſe a moment. At this place, I quitted thoſe who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go wherever they thought proper. His majeſty had taken care to order poſt-horſes to be in readineſs in all the proper places upon the road, in caſe my health would permit me to make uſe of them. I therefore took poſt at Abbeville, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived the next day at eight in the morning at Villers-Coterets.

I would not take any repoſe till I had firſt received the honour of ſaluting his majeſty. I found him in that walk of the park which leads to the foreſt, where he propoſed to take an airing on ſome horſes that were to be brought there to him: Bellievre, Villeroi, De Maiſſes, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the count de Soiſſons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a diſtance, he ſaid, as De Maiſſes afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have ſo much wiſhed to "ſee, he is at laſt arrived; my couſin the count of "Soiſſons muſt be called, that he may be preſent at "the brief relation he will give us of what he has "ſeen, heard, ſaid, and done, of which he has wrote "me nothing: let my horſes be ſent back, I ſhall "not now go into the foreſt."

His majeſty would not ſuffer me to kneel to kiſs his hand, but embraced me twice very cloſely. His firſt words were, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with my ſervices; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he ſhould take pleaſure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be ſomewhat long, and could not well be made, but as opportunity ſhould preſent,

to

1603. to diſcourſe on ſo many different matters. I began with the perſon of the king of England, which I deſcribed to him nearly the ſame as I have already in theſe Memoirs: I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expreſſed for his majeſty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his deſire to render himſelf worthy of the compariſon. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inſpire him, and how far he was from eſpouſing the party of the revolted French calviniſts. King James was ſenſible from his own ſituation, how very unfit this laſt procedure would have been, having ſo great a number of ſeditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived, if they did not one day cauſe him much trouble. I added, that if I had myſelf been diſpoſed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very ſerious enterpriſes: I mentioned the affair of the loſt diſpatch, and ſpoke my ſentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the king of England, and acquainted his majeſty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my laſt audience, and, together with the form of the treaty ſigned by us both, I preſented to him the two letters from his Britannic majeſty, and another letter wrote to his majeſty, ſince my departure from London, by the count of Beaumont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroi to read all thoſe letters to him.

Beaumont in his letter acquainted the king, that the queen of England, with her children, was inſtantly expected in London, from whence ſhe would go directly to Winſor to reſide there with the king; that many were apprehenſive her arrival would cauſe diſturbance in affairs, and might inſpire the factious with courage; that happily there was no able man among them; that the Spaniſh ambaſſador was at laſt arrived in England, and, with another from the duke

duke of Brunſwic, was ſaid to be actually at Graveſ- 1603.
end, from whence they were immediately to proceed to London, his Britannic majeſty having ſent ſhips to protect the Spaniſh ambaſſador in his paſſage againſt thoſe of the States; that count d'Aremberg depended ſo entirely upon the alterations which this ambaſſador would make in affairs, that being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windſor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont diſſemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince ſuſceptible of new impreſſions, not ſo much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidity, his weakneſs, and even ſcruples, leſt, in ſupporting the United Provinces, he ſhould countenance a parcel of rebels.

Beaumont wrote thus from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, deſigned and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he ſeemed perſuaded the deputies of the Low Countries would never conſent to it, though the emperor ſhould be guarantee of it, becauſe they thought it neither ſtrong enough to oblige Spain to obſerve it, nor even ſufficiently impartial, to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; beſides, they had a general ſuſpicion of all propoſitions wherein France and England were not concerned. He obſerved, that theſe deputies were likewiſe upon the point of returning home, with a reſolution to animate their republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic majeſty had given them, that they ſhould not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permiſſion which James had given them to raiſe ſoldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by my lord Buccleugh, whom they had accepted as colonel of theſe recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter, by ſaying, that, in order to be ſtill more perfectly informed of every thing that

paſſed,

1603. paſſed, and to remind the king of England of his promiſes if neceſſary, he was going himſelf to Windſor. I take no notice of thoſe paſſages in this letter, where Beaumont gave the higheſt praiſes to my conduct and my negotiation.

Villeroi having finiſhed the reading the plan for a treaty, "Well, couſin, ſaid Henry, addreſſing "himſelf to the count of Soiſſons, what do you "think of all this? give me your opinion of it "freely." I readily imagined what reply he would make, and the count did not deceive me. "Since "you require it of me, ſaid he, I muſt ſay, that I "think the marquis of Roſny has very great cre- "dit with the king of England, and that he is "in a marvellous good intelligence with the Eng- "liſh, at leaſt if his relation, and all which you "have been informed of, is true; for which rea- "ſon he ought to have brought much more ad- "vantageous conditions, and a treaty in a better "form than that which he has preſented to you, "which is really nothing more than a mere pro- "ject of hopes and fair words, without any cer- "tainty that they will ever be executed." "What "you have ſaid is truly very fine and good, replied "Henry: nothing is ſo eaſy as to diſcover faults "in the actions of others." His majeſty ſtill continued to ſpeak, as if to make my apology, and altogether my elogy. He ſaid, I was the only perſon in France who, with ſo limited a power, could have performed what I had: that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London, which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreſeen and expected the difficulties with which I had ſtruggled, and that he had not hoped I could have ſo eaſily conquered them; that he was perfectly ſatisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me Carte-blanche. "Roſny, ſaid he, in his conduct has given me "an example, which confirms to me the truth of a "Latin proverb, though I do not know whether I "ſpeak

" ſpeak it right, *Mitte ſapientem, & nihil dicas:* 1603.
" and I am certain, that if his preſence ſhould
" again become neceſſary on the other ſide, he
" will always be ready to return and ſerve me with
" the ſame ability and addreſs which he has here
" ſhewn." I ſuppreſs great part of what, upon this occaſion, the generous ſoul of Henry inſpired him with for my defence: what gave me the moſt ſenſible ſatisfaction, and which I conſidered as infinitely ſuperior to all the praiſes he beſtowed upon me, was his adding, that he had nothing to fear from thus praiſing me to my face, becauſe he knew that thoſe praiſes, inſtead of making me vain and leſs diligent, would only increaſe my deſire of acting ſtill better. Theſe words ſilenced the count of Soiſſons.

I then anſwered ſeveral queſtions which the king aſked me, touching the nature and power of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, on the character of the Engliſh, and what they thought of their new king. After this the converſation turned on the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given him a circumſtantial relation of it, aſſured me that he appproved of my conduct therein, conſidering it as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend ignorance of the eſcape of the criminal, to endeavour to excuſe him, or openly to vindicate him. I acquainted his majeſty with the character of young Servin *, ſuch as I have already given. The king having twice aſked whether dinner was ready, went in to ſit down to table, having firſt directed Villeroi to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go and take my repoſe till the next day, as being what I muſt very much want, after having rode poſt, and that ſucceeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered my good friends Frontenac and Parfait, to ſerve me from his kitchen, 'till my own equipage and attend-

* L'Etoile makes mention of him. " It is ſurpriſing, ſays he, how " it could happen, that the plague ſhould find means to attack ſo " great a plague as he."

1603. ants were arrived; "And to-morrow morning, ſaid "he, we will renew our diſcourſe."

In the afternoon, the king took the airing in the foreſt which he had intended in the morning; in the evening at ſupper, he ſent me two excellent melons and four partridges; at the ſame time acquainting me, that I ſhould come to him early the next morning, before any of his counſellors were with him, which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dreſſed, and had breakfaſted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himſelf with looking at a game of tennis then playing in the little court of the caſtle, which was generally uſed for this diverſion. "Roſny, ſaid he, we will "take a walk while the freſhneſs of the morning "continues; I have ſome queſtions to aſk you, "and ſome matters to diſcuſs, on which I have "been thinking the whole night. I aroſe at four "o'clock, theſe things having preſſed my thoughts "ſo ſtrongly, that I have not been able to ſleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, having joined us, the king continued walking another hour with us four. Our mornings were generally ſpent in the ſame manner, during the three following days which his majeſty paſſed at Villers-Coterets. In theſe converſations I gave him an exact and particular account of all the moſt ſecret and important matters, with which he ſtill remained to be acquainted.

I received ſeveral letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may ſerve as a ſupplement to the affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the queen at London did not occaſion all that diſorder which had been apprehended; the diſcontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It ſeemed as though her ſudden change of ſituation and country had made as ſudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegancies of England, or from thoſe of the royal

royal dignity, ſhe became diſpoſed to pleaſures and amuſements, and ſeemed wholly engaged in them and nothing elſe: ſhe ſo entirely neglected or forgot the Spaniſh politics, as gave reaſon to believe ſhe had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them through the neceſſity of eventual conjunctures. Kintore, who had accompanied her, openly continued his profeſſion of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princeſs repoſed the greateſt confidence, poſitively aſſured Beaumont ſhe was not ſo perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himſelf preſented to her, and made my excuſes to her for not having been able to ſtay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myſelf with the letters from their majeſties. 1603.

During all this the Spaniſh ambaſſador, whoſe arrival in England had been ſo poſitively aſſerted, was not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was ſo far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windſor, found himſelf at laſt obliged to demand without him his audience of the king, who granted it. I am ignorant of what paſſed in it: I only know that he demanded a ſecond, for which the king made him ſuffer a thouſand delays, which however can only be attributed to this prince's diſtaſte of buſineſs, and his paſſion for the chace, which ſeemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time his conduct and diſcourſe was ſo far from giving the Spaniſh partiſans any cauſe to deſpair, that, on the contrary, he appeared diſpoſed again to fall into his former irreſolution. Beaumont did not know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural indiſpoſition, or to the inſinuations of Cecil, who uſed all the means he poſſibly could to make him fail in the obſervance of his promiſes. Happily many new incidents concurred to ſupport this prince againſt all temptations of this kind; and the Spaniards were ſo imprudent in their conduct, as to be themſelves the principal cauſes of it.

1603. No ſooner was the Spaniſh ambaſſador arrived in London (for he did at laſt arrive there) than both court and city, and all affairs were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, miſtruſts, and ſuſpicions. He ſoon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all thoſe whom he conſidered as neceſſary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spaniſh ſervice, as the States had done in theirs: this would have been a deciſive ſtroke, which Holland could not evade any otherwiſe than with the aſſiſtance of her protectors, by retaining theſe troops in her own ſervice. All theſe proceedings of the Spaniard, being purſued with a ſpirit of pride and independence, were ſo much the more diſagreeable to James, as his natural weakneſs produced in him a repugnance to oppoſe them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambaſſador. A whiſper was likewiſe current concerning a conſpiracy of the Engliſh catholics * againſt James's perſon. Beaumont conſtantly treated this inſinuation as a calumny; and indeed, whoever is acquainted with the true ſtate of this body in England at this time, will, in its weakneſs and the meanneſs of its ſentiments, diſcover an unanſwerable argument to diſprove it.

But a more certain and undoubted conſpiracy was that of ſome Engliſh lords, who formed the deſign of ſtabbing the king. Their chiefs, for the deſign was proved, and it was believed they had undertaken it at the inſtigation of Spain and the archdukes, were lord Cobham, Raleigh, Gray, Markham, and ſeveral others of the principal ſervants, and even the intimate confidants, of the late queen, though they had appeared among the moſt forward

* It produced a proclamation, whereby king James baniſhed the Jeſuits out of his dominions. Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 217.

to

to do homage to her ſucceſſor. Nevertheleſs Cecil was not named in the cabal; the affair was public, and was the ſubject of much diſcourſe. A religious diſpute, which aroſe in the conference between the proteſtants and puritans, increaſed the diſorder. The converſation of the court turned entirely upon the diſputes and quarrels which happened between particular perſons. The earl of Northumberland ſtruck colonel Vere in the face, in preſence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the king's order, who was juſtly incenſed at ſo diſreſpectful and outrageous an inſult. The earl of Southampton and lord Grey gave each other the lie in the queen's preſence, and uſed ſeveral other atrocious expreſſions; but they were reconciled to the king by aſking pardon of the queen for their imprudence, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence. After which, without any other ſatisfaction, they converſed together as friends; from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion, that the king's name and authority preſerves the honour of thoſe who cannot vindicate it for themſelves. 1603.

When from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters, of all theſe public and private differences, I found the affair was in the moſt favourable ſituation I could deſire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finiſhing hand to the work which I had begun at London: I did myſelf the honour of writing to his Britannic majeſty; I informed him, that the king of France had with pleaſure ratified the plan concerted between his majeſty and me, and that he had ſent the count of Beaumont the neceſſary power to reduce it into ſuch a form as his majeſty ſhould judge proper; I repeated the proteſtations of obedience and attachment which I had before made him; I aſſured him, that by this I was ſo far from offending the king my

1603. maſter, that, on the contrary, I ſerved and obeyed him.

I wrote at the ſame time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my converſations with the king, and his inclination to ſend me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I alſo ſent Beaumont the treaty ſigned by his majeſty, and gave him likewiſe the neceſſary inſtructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty eſtabliſhed between the two crowns: this would in ſome meaſure depend on that which ſhould ſubſiſt between the ambaſſador of France at London, and that of England at Paris. This latter had taken offence at the ſuperſcription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or ſuch as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myſelf, and repaired it as well as I could.

Beaumont having received the treaty, acquainted the king of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was aſtoniſhed to find this ſecretary on a ſudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readineſs, and without making the leaſt difficulty; on the contrary, he was laviſh in his praiſes of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and me: all things conſpired to promote it; the treaty was therefore received, ſigned, and accompliſhed, in the moſt authentic and ſolemn manner. Dauval being arrived in France from Beaumont with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgments to his Britannic majeſty in a ſecond letter: and to employ all ſorts of counter-batteries againſt the Spaniards, who ſet no bounds to their preſents, we imitated them in this reſpect, and even gave penſions to all the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the court of king James; the beſt and moſt beautiful horſes were induſtriouſly procured wherever they could be found, and they were ſent, together with magnificent furniture, as preſents to this prince.

Thus

Thus was Spain diſappointed in thoſe great hopes 1603.
ſhe had conceived to our prejudice, from the acceſſion of the king of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the motives for her making thoſe great armaments which ſhe did this year. On the 27th of May, a ſquadron of twelve Spaniſh galleys, manned with three thouſand ſoldiers, and completely equipped, were beaten by only four Dutch veſſels; which was the ſecond loſs of this kind that Spain had lately ſuffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this ſquadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve theſe misfortunes, made ſuch preparations on every ſide for war, as ſpread a terror amongſt all her neighbours; ſhe made herſelf miſtreſs of the Mediterranean, by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and veſſels in the mean time were building in the port of Liſbon, for the embarkation of twenty thouſand ſoldiers. This work was purſued with ſuch indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

Every one talked his own way about the occaſion of ſuch formidable preparations: ſome ſaid, that they were deſigned againſt Flanders, particularly Oſtend; others, that they were deſtined for the conqueſt of Barbary, becauſe the king of Cuſco having promiſed the council of Madrid to aſſiſt that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a ſupply of men and money, which that prince kept to himſelf, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many perſons were perſuaded that Spain had a deſign upon France itſelf: the firſt notice his majeſty received of it, was at the ſame time that he was adviſed to be attentive to the caſtle of If, and to the iſlands on the coaſt of Marſeilles. I was then in England; his majeſty wrote me an account of it; but did not ſeem to give much credit to thoſe informations, although he was not ignorant that the duke of Savoy was very ſolicitous to do him this bad office; but he

1603. knew likewiſe that Spain thought this advice of the duke's very intereſted; and the pope gave him repeated aſſurances of the contrary, which there was great room to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reaſons for not provoking this prince too far.

In reality, all this was unravelled by taking into conſideration, what was carrying on with king James, by a double negotiation of France and Spain at the ſame time; and his majeſty took the part which prudence directed, which was, to give new orders for the ſtrict obſervation of diſcipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Monſieur Le-Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Beaune ſhould not be taken away, was ſent into his government of Burgundy, with orders to act in concert with Leſdiguieres, and to throw himſelf into Geneva, if the duke of Savoy ſeemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon this city, although the council of France at the ſame time earneſtly adviſed this little republic to liſten to the mediation offered by ſome Swiſs cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious and long war which had ſo long ſubſiſted between them and Savoy. However, the tranſportation of arms from France into Spain, or Spaniſh Flanders, was prohibited; and Barrault * cauſed four thouſand five hundred pikes of Biſcay to be ſeized at Saint-John-de-Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low-Countries, notwithſtanding this order.

The long ſtay which was made by Doria on the coaſt of Genoa with the galleys before mentioned, was another myſtery that could not be found out. He had ſailed for the coaſt of Villa-Francha, as if with a deſign to take the three ſons of the duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice only for an opportunity of being conveyed to

* Emerick Gobier de Barrault.

Spain;

Spain; their father, it was ſaid, ſent them there to be educated, and to be raiſed to the firſt dignities of the ſtate *, the government of Milan, and the viceroyſhip of Naples and Sicily, being thoſe he moſt eagerly panted after, probably becauſe he flattered himſelf, that thoſe titles would afford him an opportunity to ſnatch ſome part of thoſe territories for himſelf. But every one was deceived; Doria paſſed by without landing or ſtopping at Villa-Francha: nevertheleſs, there were perſons who continued to believe that it had been his deſign, but that his reſentment for Savoy's not paying him thoſe honours, nor eſteeming him ſo highly as he thought he deſerved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the duke of Savoy and him, that he ſhould act in this manner, to give the duke a pretence for ſtaying longer at Nice, where, ſaid theſe conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had diſcovered the reaſon of his departure, to be an order which they ſuppoſed he had received from Spain to go and join his ſquadron to the great naval army of the Spaniards: or poſſibly the council of Madrid had nothing elſe in view, but to accuſtom her neighbours to preparation and motions, for which they could not gueſs the cauſe. However that may be, this did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain; after a delay of ſome time longer at Nice, they paſſed on the twentieth of June within view of Marſeilles, without ſaluting the caſtle of If; their convoy conſiſted of nine galleys, four of Malta, three of the Pope's, and two of Savoy. 1603.

In the mean time, ſome other Spaniſh troops were upon their march from Italy to Flanders. His majeſty was the more attentive to their motions, becauſe he was informed that Hébert, who had left

* The ſecond of theſe princes was made viceroy of Portugal, and the third archbiſhop of Toledo and cardinal.

France

1603. France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the count of Fuentes: the ſecret was diſcovered by a letter that Hébert wrote to his brother, who was a treaſurer of France in Languedoc. Theſe troops, as I was informed by his majeſty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and paſſed the bridge of Greſin on the firſt of July; they conſiſted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Inigo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a ſmall body of troops, with a view no doubt to haſten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the ſame month. The remainder of the Spaniſh troops that were drawn from Italy, conſiſted of four thouſand Milanois, commanded by the count de Saint-George, who took the ſame rout.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſupplies, by which the archdukes received a great acceſſion of ſtrength, yet Henry was ſtill of opinion, that the Spaniards would not complete their enterpriſe upon Oſtend this year; they themſelves ſeemed to think that time alone could effect it, their forces being conſiderably diminiſhed. The thouſand horſe that attended the duke of Aumale were reduced by deſertion to leſs than five hundred, and thoſe that remained were ſo great an expence to their own commanders, that they expected to be ſoon obliged to diſband them. Such was the ſituation of the United-Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewiſe another advantage over their enemies; a ſmall number of Dutch veſſels who were going to load ſpices, meeting with fourteen Portugueſe galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chace, took five, in which they found great riches, and diſperſed the reſt.

Europe, during the courſe of this year, had not more tranquillity in the eaſt, than the weſt. Mahomet the third, to ſecure himſelf as he thought in the throne, cut the throats of twenty of his brothers. Buried in the receſſes of the ſeraglio, he did not

nor perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abuſed his authority: and was firſt informed of it by the Janizaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that ſhewed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas, who directed the council of the ſultana-mother, and the baniſhment of this ſultana herſelf, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own ſon, and the ſultana his wife, to death, and was himſelf ſeized with the plague, of which he died. 1603.

But it is now time to reſume the affairs of the kingdom. His majeſty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this laſt place, and came to Paris, to attend my uſual employments: theſe were to make the receivers-general of the diſtricts, and other perſons in office, bring in exact accounts; to caſhier thoſe who were convicted of any miſdemeanour, as it happened to Palot, a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne; to make a proviſion of ſums neceſſary to keep the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of thoſe that reſided in foreign courts for this purpoſe; and laſtly, by the mere force of frugality and œconomy, to enrich the treaſury, by diſcharging all the debts his majeſty had contracted during the league, and the other engagements of the ſtate, at the head of which his majeſty generally placed the penſions he allowed the Swiſs cantons, and was always very ſolicitous to know if they were diſcharged: the fewer allies we had in Italy, the more neceſſary the king thought it to ſooth and manage them. He made a preſent of a ſuit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian reſidents at Paris; that republic earneſtly requeſted it of him, and ſet ſo high a value upon this preſent, that they hung up the ſuit of armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was publicly expoſed to view, and ſerved for a monument

1603. ment to poſterity, of their veneration of a prince who was ſo juſtly famous for his military virtues.

As the new œconomy, which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue, cut off the greateſt part of thoſe profits which the courtiers and other perſons about the king drew from different places, and leſſened the preſents his majeſty made them from his own purſe, they fell upon methods to ſupply this vacuity; to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of ſatisfying them, conſented ſo much the more willingly as it coſt him nothing; this was to prevail on his majeſty to paſs innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges and tolls upon particular parts of trade, to be enjoyed by them, excluſively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promiſed profit, which did not get into the brain of one or other among thoſe who thought they had a right to ſome favour from the king; intereſt gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately ſwarmed with thoſe pretty monopolies, which, though ſingly of little conſequence, yet all together were very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the leaſt obſtruction produces miſchief. I thought it my duty to make frequent and earneſt remonſtrances to the king on this ſubject, and therefore made no ſcruple to expoſe myſelf to the anger of the count of Soiſſons, with whom, as I have already ſaid, I could never live three months together without a quarrel.

The count of Soiſſons preſented a petition to the king at Fontainebleau, in which he propoſed that a grant ſhould be made him of fifteen-pence upon every bale of goods exported; a deſign that muſt certainly have been ſuggeſted to him by ſome of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himſelf; nor did he know all the conſequences of it, at leaſt he aſſured the king that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thouſand livres a year; and ſo well perſuaded him of the truth of what he had

had aſſerted, that his majeſty, who thought him- 1603.
ſelf obliged to beſtow a gratuity of this value upon
him, and being likewiſe vanquiſhed by repeated importunities, granted his requeſt, without giving me, who was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no farther ſolicitations about it, cauſed an edict to be expediated for the count, which he ſigned, and the ſeal was placed to it; but ſome remains of a ſcruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully ſenſible of, made him, in granting this favour, reſerve a verbal condition, that it ſhould not exceed fifty thouſand livres, preſs too hard upon the people, nor be too great a burthen upon trade.

That evening the king, reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have ſome ſuſpicion that he was impoſed upon: he wrote to me inſtantly, and propoſed the thing to me as an indifferent queſtion, without telling me what had paſſed, or naming any perſon. I knew not what to think of ſuch a demand, but ſet myſelf to work, and, taking to my aſſiſtance the accounts of the cuſtoms and domain, and entries of proviſions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would not be leſs than three hundred thouſand crowns; and I could not but think it ſtill of more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it ſeemed likely to ruin in Brittany, Normandy, and great part of Picardy; I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his majeſty. The king confeſſed to me all that had happened, with many marks of aſtoniſhment that his confidence had been thus abuſed. The true remedy had been to have cauſed the edict to be brought back, and have entirely ſuppreſſed it, as being obtained by a falſe pretence: but, that I might not be embroiled with the count of Soiſſons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his majeſty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourſe to another method, which was to hinder the parliament

1603. ment from regiſtering the edict. All that was neceſſary for this purpoſe, was to ſend no letter with it, either under the king's hand or mine: this was an agreement that had long been made between the king and the ſovereign courts; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not regiſter any thing. I was certain however, and I told his majeſty ſo, that this expedient would not preſerve me from the reſentment of the count, and of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, who I diſcovered was concerned in this buſineſs; but I reſolved to hold firm againſt the count, provided his majeſty would be proof likewiſe to the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, which he promiſed me, and added, that he would openly ſupport me.

Two or three days after my return to Paris, the count of Soiſſons came to my houſe, and paid me many compliments, having, as he ſaid, occaſion for a *Maximilian de Bethune* at full length; he thought, by ſhewing me great kindneſs, and condeſcending to be familiar with me, he ſhould eaſily obtain my ſignature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpoſe he demanded it. I anſwered coldly, pretending to be quite ignorant of the matter, that I never ſigned any thing without knowing what it was: the count then found that he muſt have recourſe to other means; he acquainted me with what his majeſty had lately done for him, and ſaid, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the king, the ſovereign courts, and me, the ſignature which he demanded was a letter to the parliament of Brittany, and the court of aids at Rouen.

At this declaration, I aſſumed an air ſtill more ſerious, and pretended to be greatly ſurpriſed that the king had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom reſolutions of ſuch conſequence were always made known; and from thence took occaſion to tell the count,

count, that an edict of this nature, which bore so hard upon the public interest, deserving to be excepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myself; that therefore he must address himself directly to his majesty, or bring me at least an order signed by him, which would serve to justify me against the reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myself some time or other for my compliance. The count replied, with much bitterness, that I only made use of this extreme caution to ruin his design, and to break with him entirely; but finding these words could not alter my resolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter something between his shut teeth concerning our former quarrels, and he went to discharge his choler at the house of the marcioness de Verneuil. 1603.

This lady, although as much enraged with me as the count of Soissons, was yet come to make me a visit, just as I was leaving my closet to go to his majesty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have chosen a worse time; the too easy king had just suffered a score of edicts, all in the spirit of the first, to be extorted from him, and, to say the truth, of but little consequence. I set out with a full resolution to make a new attempt upon the king, in favour of the people, who would be prevented by these extortions from paying the land-tax. The marchioness asking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This is a pretty business, "madam," answered I in a passion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really was; "you "are not the last among those that are concerned "in it;" in effect, her name made the sixth article. I then opened the memorial, and read to her all the names, with the titles of the edicts. "And what "do you intend to do with this?" said she. "I "intend, answered I, to make some remonstrances "to the king upon it." "Truly," replied she, no longer able to contain her spleen, "he will have "little to do to take your advice, and offend so

1603. "many great people. And on whom, pray, would "you have the king confer favours, if not on "thoſe who are mentioned in this writing, his "couſins, friends, and miſtreſs?" "What you "ſay, Madam, replied I, would be reaſonable "enough, if his majeſty took the money all out "of his own purſe; but to make a new levy upon "the merchants, artiſts, labourers, and country-"men, it will never do; it is by them that the "king and all of us are ſupported, and 'tis enough "that they provide for a maſter, without hav-"ing ſo many couſins, friends, and miſtreſſes to "maintain."

Madam de Verneuil loſt none of my words, ſhe dwelt particularly upon the laſt; and, in the rage with which ſhe was tranſported, made uſe of them to form a thouſand wicked ſlanders. She flew immediately to the count of Soiſſons, and told him, that I had ſaid the king had but too many relations, and that it would be happy for him, and his people, if he could get rid of them. The count, mad with rage, went the next morning and demanded a conference with the king; after a long enumeration of his ſervices, he told him, that I had ſo outrageouſly injured his honour, that he muſt abſolutely have my life, unleſs his majeſty would himſelf do him juſtice. Henry, ſeeing him in ſuch violent emotion, aſked him with great compoſure, what I had done or ſaid, and whether the affront he had received was directly from me, or had been related to him by another perſon. The count not caring to enter into any explanation, replied, that if we were both together in his majeſty's preſence, not all the reſpect he ought to have for a perſon who was dear to him ſhould hinder him from doing himſelf juſtice; and added, that what he had ſaid was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accuſtomed to lie. "If that was the caſe, couſin," ſaid the king, in ſuch a voice as muſt naturally put him into confuſion, "you would not be like one

" in your family: for we always produce your el- 1603.
" der brother, in particular, as remarkable for this:
" but ſince it was a report made to you, tell me
" who made it, and what he ſaid, and then I ſhall
" know what I ought to do, and will endeavour to
" ſatisfy you, if you are to be ſatisfied with reaſon."
The count replied, that he had taken an oath not to name the perſon from whom he received his informations, but that he was as well convinced of his veracity as his own. " So then, couſin, anſwer-
" ed the king, you excuſe yourſelf from anſwering
" my queſtion, on account of an oath you have
" taken to the contrary; and I likewiſe will take
" an oath to believe no more of your complaint,
" than what monſieur de Roſny himſelf ſhall ac-
" knowledge to me, for I have as good an opi-
" nion of his veracity, as you can poſſibly have of
" thoſe who tell you theſe fine tales."

The count of Soiſſons, when he went out of the king's preſence, diſcovered ſuch an exceſs of fury againſt me, that his majeſty thought it neceſſary to give me notice of it; which he did by Zamet and La Varenne, whom, at the ſame time, he ordered to aſk me, if I had not by ſome word or action given offence to the count. I anſwered, that ever ſince the viſit I had received from the count at the arſenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never ſpoke to him, or any of his people; that the marchioneſs de Verneuil indeed had been at my houſe, but neither ſhe or I had mentioned the count. " Oh!" ſaid the king, when theſe words were repeated to him, " we need not doubt any longer
" from whence this miſchief proceeds, ſince Ma-
" dam de Verneuil is named, for ſhe is ſo full of
" malice, and has ſuch a ready invention, that to
" the leaſt word of monſieur de Roſny's ſhe would
" add a hundred, nay a thouſand; but for all
" that, this affair muſt not be neglected." The rage in which his majeſty had ſeen the count, gave him reaſon to apprehend that he would take ſome

1603. violent reſolution againſt me; he therefore ſent La Varenne to tell me, that I ſhould never ſtir out of my houſe without being well attended, and that he deſired I would ſpare nothing for my ſecurity; adding, with great goodneſs, that all the expence I could be at in guarding myſelf, would be far below what it would coſt him if he ſhould loſe me *.

I cannot quit the article of this new creation of edicts, without taking notice of an arret of council, much more antient, by which a tax of anchorage was ordered to be levied on all the foreign veſſels that anchored in our ports. This at the bottom was no more than what was paid by our veſſels in foreign ports; nevertheleſs, it was with regret, and only by his majeſty's expreſs orders, that I carried it into execution, looking upon it to be one of thoſe exactions which was moſt likely to depreſs the vigour of our trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made great oppoſition to the regiſtering them, and the marechal d'Ornano beſtirred himſelf greatly, having money owing him from the ſtate, which had been charged upon that part for his reimburſement. The eſtabliſhment of commiſſioner-examiners, *lieutenant particuliers*, *aſſeſſeurs-criminels*, and other officers of juſtice, met with no leſs difficulty from the ſame court of Rouen, which more than any other oppoſed theſe new edicts; the laſt

* L'Etoile's Journal treats at large of this difference, which the king put an end to, by obliging the count of Soiſſons to be contented with a letter of ſatisfaction which M. de Roſny wrote to him; and, according to Matthieu, Henry IV. made the count de Soiſſons and the marquis de Roſny come into his apartment, and reconciled them, ibid. 592. De Thou alſo ſpeaks of it, b. cxxix. The ſteadineſs of M. de Roſny has procured him great commendations from our hiſtorians. "He had no conſideration for any thing, ſays father Chalons, but the king's ſervice; nor could any reſpect for perſons of the greateſt quality, princes, or even the queen herſelf, prevail on him to make the leaſt conceſſion, where he thought the king's intereſt or glory came in queſtion: this got him many enemies, and was the cauſe that, after the king's death, the queen took the management of affairs out of his hands." Hiſt. de Fr. vol. III. p. 255.

were made with an intention to satisfy and send back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long time for their pay, in consequence of these new regulations: probably it was the meeting with such obstacles as these to his designs, that had long made Henry solicitous to suppress the chamber of requests in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earnestly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Toulouse this year; which continued to be suppressed, notwithstanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debate ran contrary to him. 1603.

The quarrel between the count of Soissons and me made a great noise; but the king, to shew me that it had produced no alteration in his friendship, sent me notice by Beringhen some days afterwards, that he intended to pass by Rosny, in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I should treat him there with his court. The princes, princesses, and the constable, were all that the king permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my guest: but the entertainment was disturbed by an unforeseen accident; the rivers were so much swelled by a sudden storm, that the offices of Rosny were overflowed *, the fruit spoiled, as well as the labour of the servants; the ladies were terrified, supposing the danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by causing a conduit to be opened, through which the water used to have a passage, and which had been filled up to make the passage more commodious for his majesty and for the carriages. I had already begun to make the road

* I believe L'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he says their majesties with great difficulty escaped the danger. "The king, "adds he, laughing, told M. de "Rosny, that heaven and earth "were combined against him, and "that he ought boldly to take "care of himself."

1603. and the bridge at the entrance to Rôsny, but neither were yet completed.

The waters did great damage for ten leagues about, but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

His majesty proceeded as far as the Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caën: he took the government of it from Crevecœur-Montmorency, who was accused of carrying on correspondencies with Bouillon and d'Auvergne, particularly with Tremoüille, whose kinsman he was; and gave it to Bellefonds. From Caën the king passed through Rouen *, where he settled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleasure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as it was formerly mentioned, the princess Catherine had proposed for the duke of Rhoan, and who had since that time been demanded in marriage by monsieur and madam de Fervaques, for monsieur de Laval the son of that lady. His majesty at Rouen ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

The affairs of religion were in part the occasion of the journey his majesty had lately taken; and the duke of Bouillon had likewise a share † in it. He was not yet quite discouraged from his attempts upon the king of England: he was still in the court of the elector Palatine, whom he advised to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he said, of the true religion; and had the boldness, without asking his majesty's leave, to solicit Erard, his first engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortress for him. To serve his ambition every thing seemed lawful,

* "The king was attacked at "Rouen with so violent a looseness, as to void blood, which "the physicians said came from his "having eaten too great a quantity of raw oysters." L'Etoile an. 1603.

† It is in vain to endeavour at any justification of the duke of Bouillon. His own historian gives up his defence, after the deposition of the count d'Auvergne, b. v.

and

and ſacred as well as profane things were proſtituted to that purpoſe. He publiſhed a writing this year, in which he exclaimed, in a moſt outrageous manner, againſt the whole body of the proteſtants: he had already drawn great advantages from this ſtratagem, and ſeconded it on his ſide by counterfeiting perfectly well great uneaſineſs and apprehenſion of the miſeries which hung over the proteſtants, in conſequence of the new reſolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed theſe libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove that they had been compoſed by his friends, and ſent into England with a view to hinder his majeſty from ſucceeding in his endeavours to gain king James: but it was upon weak and hot-headed perſons that Bouillon always impoſed; and on them indeed his pains were not all caſt away. An aſſembly of proteſtants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occaſion of the king's laſt indiſpoſition, in which Du-Pleſſis extolled this duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewiſe inſolent and preſumptuous; for the praiſes he gave his hero ſeemed to be all at the king's expence, whom he calumniated without any reſpect to his perſon or dignity. 1603.

Of all theſe aſſemblies, none made ſo much noiſe as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The elector Palatine, and the duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, cauſed queſtions to be propoſed in it which had a ſtrong tendency to the re-kindling a war. The miniſter Ferrier, by their orders, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon the proteſtants to inſert amongſt their articles of confeſſion, that the Pope is the antichriſt: ſurely it could not be called a ſpirit of religion, but rather of diſcord and intrigue, that preſided at the deciſion of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewiſe propoſed to ſend printed to all the univerſities of Europe. As ſoon as the king was informed of this ſcandalous proceeding, he ſent me orders from Fontainebleau, where he had reſided ſince his return

1603. from Normandy, to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of the proteſtants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith * from being received. Villeroi likewiſe, by his commands, preſſed me to exert myſelf on this occaſion. I wrote immediately to Saint-Germain † and Deſbordes; and whether it was owing to the arguments I made uſe of to ſhew them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they ſaw was reſolved not to ſpare them, I know not, but the article in queſtion was at length ſuppreſſed. The Pope, I believe, was under great apprehenſions about it; for he was ſo extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his majeſty could appeaſe him: and probably it was to this incident that the jeſuits owed their re-eſtabliſhment in France. The holy father had the conſolation to ſee his dominions filled with an acceſſion of monks of every kind, Auguſtins reformed, Recolets, barefooted Carmelites, ignorant fryars; and amongſt the other ſex, capuchin nuns, foliętans, and carmelites: ſo many religious orders were never inſtituted at one time as in this year.

The boldneſs of the proteſtants, on this occaſion, will not appear ſo ſurpriſing, if it be conſidered that they had even gone greater lengths upon another, when they were inſolent enough to offer their mediation to the king, in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that thoſe rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would groan for them a long time: but they had prophets whoſe predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, La Tremouille, Leſdiguieres, and

* See the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 296, where we find ſteps taken by de Mornay, to procure the reception of this abſurd tenet.

† Deputies from the calviniſt party to reſide at court, according to the cuſtom of that time.

Du-Pleſſis,

Du-Pleſſis, to render my repreſentations ineffectual, and myſelf the object of their hatred, inſinuated every where, that I ſacrificed, on all occaſions, that very religion for which I pretended ſo much zeal; and that, by this practice, I enriched myſelf with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papiſts, except perhaps a very few, conſider themſelves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; for by the malignity of my ſtars, or the invidiouſneſs of my place, I muſt honeſtly own I loſt my labour. 1603.

While theſe complaints of the proteſtants againſt me ran higheſt, I went one day to his majeſty, with an intention to make him ſuch repreſentations as would ſecure me againſt the effects of their malice. The king was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the duke of Montpenſier, cardinal Joyeuſe, and the duke of Epernon: he made me a ſign to approach, and aſked me whether I could gueſs the ſubject of his converſation with thoſe three gentlemen. I anſwered only with a bow. "We "were talking, ſaid the king, of the government "of Poitou, and they have adviſed me to give it to "you; could you have imagined this? they being "ſuch good catholics, and you ſuch an obſtinate "huguenot." I did not even know that this government was vacant. Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reverſion of it after the death of Malicorne, who was very aged and infirm, and intended to reſign his own for it; but reflecting that all his eſtates were ſituated in the provinces he was at preſent governor of, he releaſed Malicorne from his engagement, and both together came to reſign this government to the king, that he might diſpoſe of it in favour of one of his natural children.

Henry likewiſe inſiſted upon my gueſſing his motives for preferring me to this poſt, rather than

1603. any other perſon, or thoſe even that were ſo near to him. I had nothing to alledge, but the knowledge his majeſty had of my fidelity and ardour for his ſervice. The king replied, that his true reaſon for giving it me, was, becauſe I was an huguenot, but a reaſonable one, and zealous for the good of my country; that the proteſtants beholding me in this light, could not but be highly ſatisfied with his choice; and that he did not doubt but that his whole kingdom would be no leſs ſo, ſince I was capable of inſpiring them with more dutiful ſentiments, of giving them juſt notions of their king, and of teaching them to rely on his goodneſs, and to reſpect and love his perſon; and that, by ſuffering the gratuities which he granted to the principal members of this body to paſs through my hands, the authority which the duke of Bouillon ſtill preſerved amongſt them might be deſtroyed. His majeſty added (without doubt becauſe theſe three gentlemen, who were alſo joined by Briſſac, Ornano, and Roquelaure, were preſent) that although he felt ſo ſtrong an affection for his religion, as to wiſh with the utmoſt ardour to ſee it embraced by all the huguenots, and by me in particular, yet he could never forget that God had made uſe of that body, and of the cities of Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban eſpecially, to free him from the oppreſſion of Spain, to aſſiſt him in ſupporting his juſt claims, and to ſave even his life from the fury of the leaguers; that, on this account, however diſcontented he might be with thoſe cities for diſcovering leſs duty and affection for him than formerly, yet nevertheleſs he thought himſelf obliged in honour, to continue the ſame gratuities he had always allowed them for their fortifications and colleges. The king repeated ſeveral inſtances which the province of Poitou had hitherto given, of its inviolable attachment to its lawful prince, "when no Bouillon, "ſaid he, was there to excite them to ſedition;" and

and could not hinder himſelf from ſaying, that, at this very time, the welfare of the kingdom depended upon maintaining a peace with the proteſtants. 1603.

After this, his majeſty told me, that I might treat directly with meſſieurs de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the intereſt of the ſtate, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations, to give this government to me, than to his own children. All that were preſent ſaid ſomething in approbation of what his majeſty had done, and praiſe of me; and I made my acknowledgment to all, either in words, or by low bows. I diſpatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne, and he tranſacted the buſineſs with ſuch prudence, that, by a ſeaſonable preſent of a thouſand crowns to thoſe whoſe advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thouſand crowns. Upon their reſignation, Du-Freſne ſent me, on the ſixteenth of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtelleraudois, Loudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thouſand livres; namely, twelve thouſand livres from the governments of Mante and Gergeau, which I already poſſeſſed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, eſpecially Gergeau, on account of the garriſons; and eighteen thouſand livres from that of Poitou: in this ſum, however, I have always included my ſalaries for the two poſts of ſuperintendant of the fortifications, and of the works.

I muſt not omit giving ſome account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to eſtabliſh the ſtuff manufactures, and eſpecially ſilk ones. Henry, who was carried with ardour to every thing which in his opinion could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, by Les Bourgs and Des Cumans, that it was a mighty eaſy matter not only to ſupply ſilks for our home conſumption, which uſed to be brought from foreign countries and diſtant regions, but

1603. but alſo to carry on a conſiderable trade with foreigners for this merchandiſe. For this purpoſe, all that is neceſſary, ſaid they, is to give encouragement to ſilk-weavers to come amongſt us, to increaſe the breed of ſilk-worms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for theſe ſort of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly againſt this ſcheme, which I never approved: but the king was ſo prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonſtrances were ineffectual.

I remember that one day, when his majeſty did me the honour to viſit me at the arſenal, to confer with me upon the neceſſary methods for eſtabliſhing theſe manufactures, which could not be done without a great expence, we had a pretty warm debate about it. "I know not," ſaid he to me, finding I received all the propoſals he made me on this ſubject, with that reſerve and coldneſs which I always aſſumed when I was not in his opinion, "I "know not, what whim this is that you have taken "in your head, to oppoſe a ſcheme ſo well calcu- "lated to enrich and embelliſh the kingdom, to "root out idleneſs from among the people, and "which I ſhould find ſo much ſatisfaction in com- "pleting." I replied, that this laſt reaſon had ſo much weight with me, that if I could ſee the leaſt probability of ſucceeding in the ſchemes for a ſilk manufacture, I ſhould content myſelf with repreſenting to his majeſty that he would purchaſe this ſatisfaction at rather too high a price, and deſtroy by it that which he propoſed to himſelf in the execution of thoſe great deſigns, which, by his command, I had mentioned to the king of England; but that I entreated him not to be offended with me, if I preſumed to tell him, that I could not, as he did, ſee either glory or utility reſulting from this eſtabliſhment. I then aſked him, if he would permit me to give him my reaſons for thinking ſo differently from him. "I give you leave, ſaid he, "but upon condition that you afterwards hear "mine,

" mine, which I am perſuaded, are more convinc- 1603.
" ing than yours." I then made the following obſervations to his majeſty.

That it was through a wiſe diſpenſation of providence, which deſigned that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, ſhould be obliged by their common neceſſities to have an intercourſe with each other, this country was fitted to produce one thing, and that another, excluſively of all the reſt: France had the good fortune to be ſo favourably diſtinguiſhed in this diſtribution of benefits, that no country probably, except Egypt, ſo univerſally abounded with whatever ſupplied the neceſſities, or contributed merely to the conveniencies of life, for the reſt of the world; her corn, grain, and pulſe, her wine, cyders, flax, hemp, ſalt, wool, oil, dying drugs, that immenſe quantity of cattle, great and ſmall, which uſually ſerve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to envy none of her neighbours on the ſcore of any of theſe advantages, but even to diſpute with them thoſe which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily, are of this number.

It is certain that her climate refuſes ſilk; the ſpring begins too late, and an exceſſive moiſture almoſt always prevails; and this inconvenience, which is abſolutely irremediable, affects not only the ſilk-worms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewiſe the mulberry-trees that theſe inſects feed upon; for which a mild and temperate air is neceſſary in the ſeaſon wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew, cannot but be very great: it will be five years at leaſt before there can be any certainty of their coming to perfection; during which we riſk the loſs of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are theſe difficulties, which ought to diſſuade us from engaging in an enterprize, the ſucceſs of which they do

not

1603. not render doubtful but impoſſible, a real loſs to us? That is the queſtion.

A country life affords ſo many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle but thoſe who reſolve againſt all work; therefore it is neceſſary to begin, by curing people of this lazy diſpoſition, which, if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of ſilk for an employment? firſt, they leave one profeſſion, which brings them in a certain and ſufficient income, for another, where their gains are caſual and doubtful. It would not indeed be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former, becauſe it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, ſuch as agriculture is, conſidered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon ſilk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous conſequences of ſuffering the country people to be thus employed: it has been a common obſervation, at all times and in all places, that the beſt ſoldiers are found amongſt the families of robuſt, laborious, and nervous workmen: if, inſtead of theſe, we enliſt men who are brought up to no other labour than what a child, if taught it, has ſtrength to perform, we ſhall be ſoon convinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his majeſty himſelf obſerve, a ſtrong conſtitution, confirmed by laborious exerciſes, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole ſtrength and force of the body. And this military art, the ſituation of France, and the nature of her polities, make it abſolutely neceſſary to hinder from degenerating or being depreſſed.

At the ſame time that we enervate the country people, who in every reſpect are the true ſupporters of the ſtate, among thoſe of the city we introduce luxury with all her train of miſchiefs, effeminacy, ſloth, voluptuouſneſs, and that domeſtic extravagancy,

gancy, which is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be satisfied with that little, will ever plunge into. In France we have already too many of these useless citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery conceal the manners of weak women. 1603.

The objection, that immense sums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the support of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have just observed, and destroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reason justly upon the inconveniency that arises from this commerce, and this importation of vain and unnecessary merchandizes, they would be convinced, that the best thing that could be done, would be to suppress the use of them entirely, and absolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the same time to fix, by good and severe regulations, the richness of clothes and furniture; and to put every thing of this kind upon the same footing as they were in the reigns of Lewis XI. Charles VIII. and Lewis XII*. That necessity which obliges us to dress in one sort of stuffs rather than another, is the mere

* Many edicts of this kind were issued at different times during the reign of Henry IV. against which the dealers in silk at Paris presented many useless remonstrances to the king and M. de Rosny. The Memoirs for the history of France relate in what manner that minister received the sieur Henriot, who spoke for them, a good old merchant, whose manners and dress bore the marks of the simplicity and plainness of the tradesmen of former times.— "The next day, "says the writer of these Memoirs, "they waited on M. de Sully, who "answered them only with disdain "and ridicule; for Henriot having put one knee to the ground, "that nobleman immediately raised him up; and having turned "him round, the better to survey "his old-fashioned dress, being "a short holiday-gown, lined "with taffety, his jacket and "the rest of his cloaths ornamented with silks of different "kinds, in the manner they were "formerly wore by merchants, he "said to him, Honest friend, what "reason can you and your company have to complain, when you "are much finer than I am? Is not "this damask, this taffety, &c. "And after turning them into "ridicule sent them away without giving them any other satisfaction; which made them "say, as they were returning, "The servant is ruder and haughtier than his master." Vol. II. p. 278.

vice

1603. vice of fancy; and the price that is ſet upon them, an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to conſider, though but with the ſlighteſt attention, the ſource of what is called the faſhion, we ſhould find to our ſhame and confuſion, that a ſmall number of perſons, and thoſe the moſt deſpicable of a great city, which incloſes all ſorts indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we ſhould feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compaſſion we have for fools, that theſe very men diſpoſe nevertheleſs of our purſes, and keep us enſlaved to their caprices.

But ſilk cloaths are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power; there is as much to be done with reſpect to diamonds, jewels, ſtatues, and pictures, if it be conſidered as a grievance, that foreigners take away our gold and ſilver: we muſt likewiſe take into conſideration, equipages, kitchen-furniture, moveables, and every thing in which theſe metals are made uſe of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance that prevails in France, the ſums ſquandered fooliſhly in gardens, buildings, coſtly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages ſet up to auction, what is there that wants no reformation? we cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France, without the leaſt neceſſity. The care which the law and the finances would require, would engage us in an endleſs digreſſion: theſe two bodies of men, of which the one ought to be the guardians of regularity, and the other of parſimony, ſeem only to have been brought into the world, to deſtroy both the one and the other. Theſe are the only people that know what it is to be rich; and how they come by this wealth, may be ſeen by the manner in which they ſpend it: the old chancellors, firſt preſidents, counſellors of ſtate, and the heads of the courts and revenues, if they were to come

come into the world again, would not know how to find thoſe who now fill their places, and reſemble them in nothing but their titles *. 1603.

I ſaid every thing I could think of on this ſubject, that carried with it any force, to bring the king over to my opinion; but I could not prevail. "Your arguments are very ſtrong, ſaid he to me; "and I would rather chuſe to fight the king of "Spain in three pitched battles, than engage all "theſe people of the law, the offices, and the city "eſpecially, their wives and daughters, whom you "have brought upon my back, with all your whim-"ſical regulations." "Then it is your pleaſure,

* Though ſilk and other materials of luxury, are in ſtrictneſs no otherwiſe good or bad, than according to the good or bad uſe made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to bad than to good purpoſes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be ſufficiently praiſed. The rigid defenders of the chriſtian doctrines do, and always will, eſpouſe his ſentiments; but it muſt be acknowledged, that the politicians of the preſent times, even thoſe who are moſt ſevere, think differently; they find nothing concluſive in thoſe examples of antiquity which are produced againſt luxury, even in reſpect to the times from which they are taken, much leſs in regard to the preſent. According to their opinion, other cauſes brought about thoſe revolutions which were attributed to it; which cauſes having now loſt their force, ſuch revolutions do not, nor can they happen again: the increaſe of gold and ſilver in Europe, occaſioned by the mines of thoſe metals diſcovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the laſt two centuries, has introduced by its natural conſequence luxury or ſuperfluity, which makes the neceſſary exchange againſt the redundance of money, otherwiſe an uſeleſs drug. This has entirely changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the ſyſtems of government, and left no means of aggrandizing any ſtate except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury: no inconveniencies ariſe from hence, till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford; beſides, experience demonſtrates more clearly than reaſoning can, that it is not at all incompatible, either with order, ſubordination or a military ſpirit.

As to what relates to ſilk, ſhould we even ſuppoſe with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reaſoning will nevertheleſs be imperfect, as he ſeems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one ſhould ſtill remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be ſent for conviction to our manufactures of ſilks at Lyons, Tours, &c. and in ſpight of what our author ſays in this place, the eſtabliſhment of the manufactures of ſtuffs of all kinds, which was begun in the reign of Henry IV. will always compel us to ſpeak in praiſe of him. See on this article, l'Eſſay politique ſur le commerce, chap. 9. p. 105, ſecond edit. 1736.

"Sire,

1603. "Sire, replied I, that I ſhould ſpeak to you no "more upon this ſubject: however, time and ex- "perience will convince you, that France is not "fitted for theſe gewgaws." I was obliged to content myſelf with endeavouring only to prevail upon the king, to alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and that whole encloſure, for the new buildings he projected for his ſilk manufactories. I repreſented to him, that he would one day deſtroy what it would coſt him ſo much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that once, when he was laying with me the foundations of a deſign, far more noble and juſt, the Tournelles had been deſtined for another building of a very different kind*. "As things ſhall fall out," replied Henry; and this was all I could get from him. He followed Zamet, who came to tell him that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for him at his houſe, was ready.

It was not, I confeſs, without deep regret, that I ſaw ſuch large ſums of money ſquandered, which might have been employed to ſo many uſeful purpoſes. I made a calculation of the expence Henry was commonly at every year, in buildings, in play, for his miſtreſſes, and hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thouſand crowns; a ſum ſufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thouſand foot: I could not, though I riſqued the danger of loſing his affection, be ſilent upon this ſubject. He commanded me to give ſix thouſand livres to madam de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchaſe, at this price, that domeſtic quiet which was ſo often interrupted by his wife and his miſtreſs; but fortunately for him, he eſcaped any broils this year. It

* The building here meant was, intended to be a magnificent ſquare, of ſeventy-two fathom on every ſide, which was to be called the *ſquare of France*; eight ſtreets were to have been opened into it, of eight toiſes in breadth, bearing the names of ſo many provinces. The deſign for it was made in 1608, but the death of Henry IV. put a ſtop to the execution of it: under the following reign it was executed in part, and was called the *royal ſquare*.

was

was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time believed, that the queen was again with child, but it was afterwards found to be a miſtake; which the king did me the honour to inform me of. 1603.

The colony that was ſent to Canada this year, was among the number of thoſe things that had not my approbation: there was no kind of riches to be expected from all thoſe countries of the new world; which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majeſty gave the conduct of this expedition to the ſieur Du-Mont *.

* See in the Septenary, the deſcription of a voyage made to Canada by the ſieur Du-Mont. There is alſo a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the new world; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again miſtaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a further account of this matter to L'Eſſai politique ſur le commerce.

Liberty and protection, theſe two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flouriſhing ſtate, may, in another ſenſe, be applied to the trade carried on to the two Indies; that is to ſay, as the author of theſe Memoirs remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe ſhould be excluded from it, but that it ſhould be indiſcriminately ſhared amongſt them all; and that the method of carrying it on to the moſt general advantage, is by excluſive privileges, granted not to private perſons, but to whole companies acting under the name, and by the authority of the king.

I ought not to forget obſerving here, that the firſt company for carrying on a trade to the Eaſt-Indies was eſtabliſhed in France, under the reign of Henry IV. and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerrard-le-Roy. The edict of its eſtabliſhment, which bears date the 1ſt of June 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company: the fifth and ſixth articles are ſomething remarkable, it being therein ſaid, that gentlemen might become members of this company, without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the neceſſary funds, the diſunion amongſt the members, and all the other cauſes, which have ſo often ſince occaſioned the deſtruction of this inſtitution, prevented its having the propoſed effect at that time: it was reſerved for the celebrated M. Colbert, to place it on a more ſolid and durable baſis. The hiſtory of this company, the many advantages whereof are at preſent more known than ever, would carry me too far; and moreover is to be found already in many good books.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XVII.

1604. I BEGAN this year, as I had done all the preceding ones, by the performance of a ceremony annexed to my employment, which was, to preſent their majeſties with two purſes of ſilver medals. When I went to pay them the accuſtomed compliments on the firſt day of the new year, I came into their chamber ſo early in the morning that I found them ſtill in bed. Beſides the purſe of ſilver, I had cauſed two purſes of gold medals to be ſtruck, which they received with great pleaſure. Roquelaure, Frontenac, and La-Varenne, coming that moment into the room, the converſation turned entirely upon theſe medals, of which the emblem was an open granado, and the device alluded to an anecdote in ancient hiſtory concerning Darius * and Zopyrus. The king was the more pleaſed with the deſign, becauſe he found it affect the malecontents of France in ſuch a manner, as he had a few days before directed me to make it affect them. His majeſty the next day made me a preſent of his

* As an explanation of theſe medals would be of little conſequence, I forbear to give any; nor do I take any notice of them in the beginning of any other years. Thoſe who intereſt themſelves in ſubjects of this nature, may ſee the ſeries of theſe medals, vol. II. p. 6. of the Old Memoirs, where they are collected by the author.

picture,

picture, in a box ornamented with diamonds; and the queen sent my wife a diamond chain and bracelet of great value. 1604.

The death of the dutchess of Bar, his majesty's only * sister, was the first interesting event to the court this year: Henry appeared greatly afflicted at

* The suspicion some conceived of this princess having been poisoned, was entirely groundless: her death was attributed by others to the potions she took to make her pregnant: it rather seems to have been occasioned from her physicians having treated her as being with child, tho' she was not. Andrew Du-Laurens, whom the king sent to her, was not mistaken in this respect, as the rest were; but the princess herself was so firmly persuaded of her being with child, by the extreme desire she had to find it so, that she refused to take any of the medicines prescribed by that physician; imagining he wanted to save her life, at the expence of the child's she believed herself to have conceived; whereas she was not at all solicitous about the preservation of her own life, provided that of the supposed infant could be saved. She persisted in this notion and these sentiments till the last moment of her life, always crying out, "Save my child." Her body having been opened, it clearly appeared Du-Laurens had been extremely right in his judgment; that instead of a real pregnancy, her illness was occasioned by an inward tumour or swelling, which for want of an application of the proper remedies to disperse it, had brought on an inflammation.

This princess was a rare example of conjugal affection; whenever she saw or heard any new-married women spoken of, she used to make it her wish, that they might love their husbands as affectionately as she loved hers. She often repeated this verse of Propertius, changing the word *Venus* into *Deus*:

Omnis cinor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major:
Hanc Venus, ut vivat, ventilat ipsa facem.

Her corpse was carried to Vendome, and deposited by her mother's, queen Jane of Albret. The Pope had at length granted this dispensation, which had been so long solicited, but the dutchess died before it arrived in Lorrain.

Henry IV. took it much amiss, that the Pope's nuncio, instead of the compliments of condolence, which he received from all the princes in Europe on the death of his sister, only spoke to him of his holiness's fears for the salvation of that princess, who had died out of the bosom of the church; and answered him with some warmth and indignation, but very judiciously, that it was a notion inconsistent with the goodness of God, to suppose, that the moment when a person breathes his last was not sufficient for his mercy to open the gates of heaven to any sinner whatever; "I have not, added "he, the least doubt of my sister's "being saved." De Thou, and Chronol. Septen. anno 1604.

What Amelot de la Houssay advances in his notes on cardinal D'Ossat's letters, that this princess had no more affection for her husband than he had for her, is contrary to the opinion of all other historians: there is more foundation for this notion, that the design of the journey the duke of Bar took to Rome, was less to solicit the dispensation for his marriage, than to oppose it; but that the Pope did not suffer himself to be so imposed on. The palace here spoken of is the palace of Soissons,

1604. it; he wore deep mourning, and not only ordered the whole court to do ſo likewiſe, but alſo the firſt gentlemen, and officers of his bed-chamber, the grand maſter, and officers of his wardrobe, the pages, and, in a word, all his houſhold; the ſame regulation was obſerved in the queen's family.

The ducheſs of Bar, before ſhe left France, had contracted ſome debts in Paris, which were not yet paid. Without doubt, this princeſs had been prevented only by death from diſcharging them, ſince ſhe had ſent jewels from Lorrain to be pawned to her creditors, who had made a ſeizure of her houſes, furniture and other effects. Her houſes were, a palace at Paris, a houſe at Fontainebleau, and another at Saint Germain, which the king her brother had given her; and, among other furniture, there were pictures in her gallery, chamber, and cloſets, which were well worth keeping in the royal palaces, and which the king wiſhed to have for that purpoſe; but they had made the ducheſs's debts ſo conſiderable, that he did not think it fit to deſire them till they were all cleared. Theſe debts amounted to twenty thouſand livres.

I was afterwards commiſſioned by his majeſty to take an inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to this princeſs: that which rendered this employment very difficult to execute, beſides the different kinds of debts and effects, was the ſpecifying of thoſe that the king of France and the duke of Bar had a right to, and the claims they both made to the rings the princeſs had pawned in Paris. Madame de Pangeas gave us a very exact account of what rings and other jewels the princeſs was

formerly called, The queen's palace, becauſe it had belonged to queen Catherine of Medicis, who left it by her will to her granddaughter, Chriſtina of Lorrain; but by reaſon of queen Catherine's debts, it was ſold in 1601, and bought by the ducheſs of Bar. It was ſold again in 1604, for one hundred thouſand livres, or thereabouts, to the count of Soiſſons, whoſe daughter, Mary of Bourbon, transferred it, as part of her portion, to prince Thomas Francis of Savoy-Carignan, grandfather of prince Eugene.

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of, either before or after her arrival in Lorrain, and of what her movables in France conſiſted; and the inventory was regulated by this writing. The whole was regiſtered with great exactneſs, in the preſence of two or three members of the council, named by his majeſty, and the duke of Lorrain's commiſſioners; and this done, each of the two princes took poſſeſſion of thoſe effects that either belonged, or were to be returned to them. The ducheſs's palace at Paris was, by the king, deſtined to be ſold, becauſe part of the money for which it was firſt purchaſed was not yet paid; and the ſum produced by this ſale was ſufficient to ſatisfy the firſt owner of it, and all the other creditors. The king gave the houſe of Fountainebleau to the queen, and that at Saint-Germain to the marchioneſs of Verneuil. But as this ſale could not be made immediately, and the creditors demanding ſureties, it was, by their conſent, agreed between the two princes, that the jewels ſhould be depoſited in my hands, without any other ſecurity than my word: they remained there till the following year, when the queen having taken them, I was diſcharged by a writing, dated 28 June, 1605, and ſigned by Des-Marquets and Bontemps. I ſhall now proceed to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, which I have promiſed to give ſome account of. 1604.

Notwithſtanding the arret that ſeemed to deprive them of all hopes of ever ſettling again in France, yet they had found means to engage the court in their intereſts, and to make, even in his majeſty's council, ſuch a great number of protectors, whoſe voices, joined to the earneſt and almoſt continual ſolicitations of the Pope, the houſe of Lorrain, and many other perſons both within and without the kingdom, ſo greatly ſtrengthened their party, that it was not poſſible for Henry to reſiſt any longer; and indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that he yielded without much reluctance. Some Jeſuits who had gained acceſs to his perſon on account of what had paſſed

1604. the preceding year during his journey to Metz, behaved with ſo much addreſs, and made ſuch advantage of that permiſſion, that Henry began to ſee them with pleaſure *, and even to admit them familiarly to his preſence. Thoſe who were thus ſent to try their fortune, and who we may be aſſured had been choſen with all the diſcernment of a ſociety that underſtood mankind perfectly well, were the fathers Ignatius, Mayus, Cotton, Armand, and Alexander; for father Gonthier did not yet ſhew himſelf; his turn of mind, which was rather ardent than complying, was not yet wanted.

When the Jeſuits were thus ſecure of great part of the court, and flattered themſelves that their enemies in the council would be either the weakeſt party, or ſuch as would not contradict a propoſal they knew to be agreeable to the king, they preſented a petition in form to his majeſty; who having in effect taken a reſolution very favourable for them, ordered the conſtable one day to aſſemble a council at his houſe, compoſed of the chancellor, meſſieurs de Chateau-neuf, Pontcarré, Villeroi, Maiſſes, the preſident De Thou, Calignon, Jeannin, Sillery, De-Vic, and Caumartin; there to hear from La-Varenne, the moſt zealous ſolicitor the Jeſuits had, the ſociety's propoſals, and what arguments they could offer to ſupport them; to deliberate upon them; and to bring him an exact account of what paſſed †.

* The favourable reception the Jeſuits met with at court and in Paris, was principally owing to their qualifications as preachers; thoſe who are named here were excellent in that reſpect. We ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak of father Cotton. Father Laurent Mayus, or Mayo, was born in Provence; he was a man of great wit and conduct, and one of thoſe who the moſt effectually aſſiſted the Pope's nuncio in procuring the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits. This Jeſuit putting Henry IV. in mind of his promiſe to recall that order at a proper time, ſaid to him, "Sire, your time is now come; "it is nine months ſince you made "this promiſe, and women are "delivered at the end of nine "months." "True, father Mayo, "anſwered that prince, but don't "you know kings go longer than "women do." Chronol. Septen. anno 1603.

† The parliament of Paris having been informed of the king's reſ-

His

His majeſty would have been very well ſatisfied to have had me of this council, and his reaſon for not naming me to the conſtable among the others, was (as he told Oſerai, the firſt groom of his bedchamber, who afterwards repeated it to me) becauſe he believed this commiſſion would not be agreeable to me. But Sillery here exerted all the arts of a courtier; he affected to his majeſty ſo much ſurprize that this council ſhould be held without me, accompanied with all thoſe treacherous praiſes which envy and malice make uſe of on certain occaſions, that he laid the prince under a neceſſity of telling him I ſhould be there likewiſe. The views of this artful courtier were, to make me only anſwerable for all the inconveniencies which they foreſaw might equally attend a denial, or grant of the Jeſuits requeſt, for every one knew it was a nice affair. I gueſſed Sillery's motive for acting in this manner, and it was not long before my ſuſpicions were fully confirmed, 1604.

lution touching the recal of the Jeſuits, ſent the firſt preſident de Harlay as their deputy to his majeſty, to preſent their remonſtrance againſt it. The preſident ſpoke to the king with great vehemence; the ſubſtance of his ſpeech may be ſeen in De Thou, who after having related, as an eye witneſs, what paſſed on this occaſion between the king and his parliament, complains of a writing which came abroad at that time, under the title of, The king's anſwer to the remonſtrance of the parliament; and which is a continued ſeries of reproaches from that prince to the firſt preſident, and of praiſes of the Jeſuits: whereas the only anſwer the king made to the deputies of the parliament was, that he thanked them for the ſolicitude they diſcovered for the preſervation of his life, and that he would take all neceſſary meaſures not to run himſelf into any dangers. The length and ſpirit of this writing teſtify in favour of M. De Thou; but, on the other hide, this anſwer of Henry IV. whether true or fictitious, is ſet forth in the 4th volume of Villeroi's State Memoirs, p. 400. and confirmed by Matthieu, that prince's hiſtoriographer, whom Henry IV. himſelf furniſhed with memoirs of his hiſtory, vol. II. book iii. On this authority, which is of great weight, father Daniel has cited it in his Hiſtory of France, in folio, vol. III. p. 1939. Theſe things would induce one to believe this was the real anſwer of Henry IV. at leaſt in ſubſtance; and M. De Thou agrees, that after the king's anſwer, which contained an order to regiſter his edict, the parliament having made a farther attempt to avoid regiſtering it, his majeſty ſent for them a ſecond time, and declared his will to them with authority, and even with anger; and afterwards ſent Andrew Hurault de Maiſſes, one of his ſecretaries of ſtate, to the parliament, to cauſe his edict to be regiſtered without any modification.

1604. The council being aſſembled, and myſelf preſent, as one of the members, the queſtion was put to the vote; when Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, directing their eyes to me, Sillery ſpoke for the others, and ſaid, that theſe gentlemen, as well as himſelf, yielded to me the honour of deciding upon this queſtion, as to one who was better acquainted with the affairs of ſtate and the king's inclinations than any that were preſent. I was already not too well diſpoſed towards Sillery, and this ſtroke put me quite out of humour with him: inſtead of a compliment, with which any other courtier would have paid his flattery, I anſwered to his meaning, and that without any diſguiſe. I told him, that I ſaw no reaſon for altering a cuſtom ſo generally received as that of voting according to rank, eſpecially on a ſubject that my ſentiments, whatever they were, would, on account of my religion, be ſuſpected of partiality; unleſs it was with a deſign to give the world a diſadvantageous interpretation of my words, as I knew many that were preſent expected to have an opportunity of doing; and had even done it beforehand, by groundleſs charges upon a point on which I had not yet declared my thoughts; and added in plainer terms, that although I ſhould vote firſt, yet I would not give the perſon that ſpoke to me ſo great an advantage as he ſeemed to hope for; but that I would do nothing till I had firſt conſulted my oracle. And in reality I was reſolved to have a conference with his majeſty, before any reſolution was taken in the matter in debate. "I find then," ſaid Sillery, ſmiling maliciouſly, and affecting ignorance of the meaning of my laſt words, "that we "muſt wait for your opinion till you have taken a "journey to the banks of the Seine, four leagues "from hence." Ablon it was that he meant, the place where the proteſtants had their aſſemblies. "Monſieur, replied I, your enigma is not very "obſcure; however, I aſſure you, that as in reli-"gious matters, not men, but the words of God,

"are

" are my oracles, ſo in affairs of ſtate I am guided 1604.
" only by the voice and the will of the king; which
" I intend to be particularly informed of, before
" any thing be determined upon a buſineſs of this
" importance." Then addreſſing myſelf to the whole company, I told them, in a tone of voice ſomewhat raiſed, that great inconveniences muſt infallibly be the conſequences of a precipitate reſolution in this caſe.

After this diſcourſe, which might be taken for that act of deliberation I had juſt before declined, the conſtable taking advantage of the hint I had furniſhed him with, and pleaſed likewiſe with having an opportunity to do me ſome ſervice, for, ever ſince that he had received from me in the affair of marechal Biron, his former prejudice againſt me was changed into a ſincere affection, ſaid, that he was entirely of my opinion, as to the neceſſity there was of knowing the particular inclinations of his majeſty, before any thing was reſolved on; and added, that it would not even be improper to deſire him to be preſent at their debates, if it was only to put a ſtop to thoſe little heats and animoſities, that had already begun to appear in our firſt ſitting. Villeroi, ſhewing an impatience to proceed, which ſurpriſed every one that knew his diſpoſition, ſaid, that ſince this affair could no otherways be terminated than by the re-eſtabliſhment of the jeſuits, it was needleſs to protract it any longer; and, after giving all the weight he could to his holineſs's interpoſition, and anſwering for the faithful performance of the promiſes made by the ſociety, he explained the motives of the king's conduct in this affair, who had not, he ſaid, referred it to a council, the members of which were all appointed by himſelf, to be contradicted, but to avoid taking upon himſelf the annulling, by his authority, ſo ſolemn an arret of parliament as that againſt the jeſuits; and concluded, by complaiſantly ſaying, that it was fit his majeſty ſhould be ſpared the diſ-

agreeable

1604. agreeable neceſſity of deciding ſolely this queſtion. Villeroi certainly highly honoured us all by this ſpeech; and the council, no doubt, owed him great acknowledgments. De Thou ridiculed this opinion, as Villeroi had done ours; he ſhook his head, and ſaid, that, if his majeſty's deſign had been ſuch as Villeroi repreſented it to be, not to meddle in this affair, he would have referred it to the deciſion of the parliament, as likewiſe the examination of the jeſuits propoſals; and hence taking occaſion to give his own ſentiments of the matter, he added, that if the king would avoid the blame he would incur by acting otherwiſe, and the danger that would reſult from it both to the ſtate and his own perſon, this was the only part he could take, namely, to refer it to the parliament. Certainly this was not ſpeaking like a courtier: but neither his advice nor that of Villeroi was followed. The reſt of the counſellors declared, by a ſingle word, that they thought it neceſſary his majeſty ſhould be applied to, before they proceeded any farther; and this was the end of our firſt ſitting.

The next day I had a private conference with his majeſty; and the firſt thing I brought upon the carpet being the debates on the preceding evening, I perceived the king expected I ſhould tell him my ſentiments of them. I did not heſitate a moment as to the part I ſhould take; and truth obliges me to confeſs, it was not very favourable for the jeſuits *. I told his majeſty, that I could not poſſibly comprehend how, after an arret of parliament publiſhed by his order, and for a cauſe as neceſſary as juſt, he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſtill prejudiced in favour of an order, from which both himſelf and the ſtate had nothing but miſchief to expect. Here I could not help bringing the king of England to his remembrance; and, having no intention to protract

* It is ſaid in the manuſcript of the king's library, which we have quoted before, that meſſieurs de Sully de Bouillon, de Maupeou, &c. did all they were able to divert the king from this reſolution.

my

my diſcourſe to any length, I contented myſelf with barely entreating him to diſpenſe with my aſſiſting at ſuch hateful deliberations; or if not, to let me know his will preciſely, and command me ſo abſolutely to regulate my vote according to it, that I might find my excuſe in the neceſſity of obeying him. "Well, ſaid Henry, ſince we are alone, "and you have leiſure to diſcourſe on this matter, "tell me freely what it is you fear from the re- "eſtabliſhment of this ſociety, and afterwards I "will tell you what I hope from it, to the end "that we may judge whoſe arguments have the "moſt weight." I would ſtill have excuſed myſelf from this taſk, ſaying, that it was abſolutely needleſs, ſince his majeſty had already taken his reſolution. But he replied, that that ſhould not hinder him from paying ſome regard to my reaſons; and commanded me ſo poſitively to enter into this diſcuſſion, that I could no longer refuſe to ſatisfy him. 1604.

The public has no advantage to hope from the reſtoration of the jeſuits in France, which it may not promiſe itſelf from any other religious order; and for the excluſion of the jeſuits there are particular reaſons, ariſing from the inconveniencies which follow from their eſtabliſhment in this kingdom. The reaſons and inconveniencies are reducible to four heads, which are immediately ſeen to be of the laſt importance; religion, the conduct of government with reſpect to foreign nations, the interior government of the kingdom, and laſtly the perſon of the king. Let us now ſpeak of the firſt: the only ſure foundation upon which the ſyſtem of government, which the council will henceforth follow, can be ſupported, is union and peace between the two religions prevailing in France: the jeſuits muſt be ſuppoſed, by thoſe who favour them, to promote this peace and union; but in truth, this can be leſs expected from them than from any other men. Their firſt ſtatute places them in ſuch a blind ſub-

jection

1604. jection to their general, or rather to the Pope, that, though as particular men they might have the moſt pure and pacific intention, they can move only by the will of theſe two ſuperiors, of whom the Pope has a great deal of miſchief in his power; and their general is always either a Spaniard born, or a dependent upon Spain. Now it cannot be imagined, that the Pope, and the general of the jeſuits, will ever contentedly ſee the proteſtant religion forming a diſtinct intereſt in France; it muſt therefore be, that the jeſuits, filled with the notions of Rome, men likewiſe of dexterity and intelligence, and to complete their character jealous of the honour of their own party, will, by their confeſſions, their ſermons, their books, and their converſation, keep up a perpetual ſchiſm among the people; whence will enſue diſcord and contention between the different members of the body politic, which will ſoon or late produce ſuch another civil war, as that from which we are got free.

Nor are they leſs capable of diſturbing our concord with foreign nations, which is the ſecond reaſon for which good policy would oppoſe their revocation; the Pope either favouring Spain by inclination, or depending againſt his will upon that crown, particularly ſince the Spaniards laſt invading Italy; and the great view of Spain being the deſtruction of the French monarchy; when we conſider that the jeſuits are connected with both the Pope and the Spaniards, by principles, cuſtom, and religion, what can be concluded, but that France will have in her boſom a body of men always ready to take part with her enemies? Here religion comes again into the queſtion: the ſcheme formed by Henry, for the glory and tranquillity of Europe in general, requires that at ſome time he ſhould ſend an army into Italy, capable of ſetting the Pope free, even without his own conſent, from the ſhackles in which he is kept by the power of Spain; in this deſign the help of the proteſtants will

will be neceſſary, without which nothing can be done againſt the Spaniards: but the jeſuits will never like a ſcheme of general policy, which will make the proteſtants important, and eſtabliſh them in Europe. 1604.

Rather than ſee the execution of ſuch a deſign, and become enemies to Spain, as they muſt then do, they will endeavour to waſte the forces of the king upon his ſubjects, which is the third reaſon againſt recalling them: and, what will produce almoſt as much diſorder in the government of the kingdom, their acceſs to the prince, and the influence which they will have over the exerciſe of his power, will enable them to commence another kind of war againſt the miniſters, and men in office, under the ſuſpicion that they have not the ſame deſigns with themſelves. I reckon myſelf among thoſe who will be firſt ſacrificed to theſe new favourites. And to conclude, has not the king himſelf had a dreadful inſtance of their hatred, without giving them new opportunities of daggers and poiſons? and does he not know the reaſons for which the jeſuits would have put another prince upon the throne of France in his place? Such a one as they hoped to make more eaſily concur in their ſchemes, both general and particular. If he had any doubt of it, I offered to prove it evidently to him, by a paper ſent me from Rome againſt the cardinal d'Oſſat, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently; and I then added a few reflections, with which that paper had ſupplied me.

The king anſwered me, that he ſhould like to ſee that paper, and ordered me to ſhew it him; but he remained invincible in his purpoſe, notwithſtanding all the reaſons that I could offer him. He told me, he had only two things to oppoſe to my diſcourſe, which he found I had formed by long premeditation; the firſt was, that it was natural for the jeſuits to be devoted to Spain, the only power which had courted and careſſed them, when they

1604. were ſcorned or hated almoſt every where: that if they had found the ſame reception in France, or ſhould now begin to find it, they would ſoon forget Spain. For the truth of this, he quoted father Mayus, who had declared to him, as he told me, in the name of the whole ſociety, their ſincere attachment, and confirmed it with the ſtrongeſt oaths, ſubmitting that he and his aſſociates ſhould be conſidered as the moſt flagrant traitors, if his promiſes were not fulfilled.

The king added, that theſe oaths and promiſes perhaps would not ſo fully put me to ſilence, but that I might have ſomething to reply; but that a ſenſe of his own intereſt, and care for the preſervation of his perſon *, determined him, he ſaid, not only to receive the jeſuits to mercy, but to treat them well; for if he once reduced them to deſpair, and deprived them of all hopes of returning to France, there was nothing which they would not attempt againſt him. His majeſty then dilated at large upon the credit, the artifices, and the expedients of that ſociety, by which he endeavoured to perſuade me, as he appeared himſelf perſuaded, that this ſociety, to whatever diſtance it might be driven by baniſhment, would have a thouſand means of practiſing on his life, and that he was deſirous to ſet himſelf free from perpetual diſquiets. He concluded with this expreſſion of Cæſar †, That it was better to put one's ſelf at once into the power of thoſe that one ſuſpects, than to be continually uſing precautions againſt them.

By theſe words, and the tone with which they were pronounced, I eaſily comprehended that his ma-

* "*Ventre-ſaint-gris!*" ſaid Henry IV. to thoſe who endeavoured to diſſuade him from recalling the jeſuits, "will you be anſwerable for "my perſon?" which words ſtopped every one's mouth. See the king's MSS. vol. 9033.

† *Inſidias undique imminentes ſubire ſemel conſeſtim ſatius eſſe, quam cavere ſemper*, ſays Suetonius; which does not abſolutely ſignify, that the moſt unexpected death is the beſt, as the text in the old Memoirs expreſſes it, and which is more conſiſtent with the context.

jeſty

jeſty had already reſolved upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the jeſuits, and that nothing could diſſuade him from it. Therefore, inſtead of oppoſing this reſolution by new objections, many of which, and thoſe very ſolid, I had ſtill to offer; I told him, that ſince he ſeemed to make the ſafety of his perſon, and the happineſs of his life, to depend upon the recalling this ſociety, that was ſufficient to make me labour for the ſucceſs of the affair as zealouſly as La-Varenne himſelf could do; and that, when the council again aſſembled, he ſhould have proofs of it. I ſaw joy ſparkle in the eyes of this prince at my words; and that the ſacrifice I made him might not go unrewarded, and that I might have no cauſe to apprehend the blame of what might happen ſhould fall upon me, he promiſed me two things that inſtant, and gave me his royal word for the faithful performance of them. One was, that neither the jeſuits, nor any other perſon in the world, ſhould prevail upon him to declare war againſt the proteſtants, unleſs I myſelf ſhould adviſe him to it: the other, that nothing ſhould be capable of making him remove from his perſon, a miniſter, with whom, be his religion what it would, he was well ſatisfied; "and eſpecially," added he, with a moſt obliging familiarity, "a man of whom I can ſay, with the "utmoſt ſincerity, what you the other day told me "Darius ſaid of his Zopyrus *." He likewiſe aſſured me, that he would endeavour to make the jeſuits entertain the ſame ſentiments of me that he did; and that I ſhould know, before much time was paſt, in what manner he expected they ſhould behave towards me. 1604.

I am not ſure whether he did not exert himſelf on this occaſion that very day; for I had a viſit from La-Varenne the next morning, who deſired as a

* Zopyrus, a Perſian ſatrape, having cut off his noſe, ears, and lips, in order to execute a ſtratagem, which put Darius in poſſeſſion of the city of Babylon, that prince uſed to ſay, He would have given twenty Babylons for one Zopyrus. Herodotus, b. v.

favour,

1604. favour, that a jeſuit, who he aſſured me was ſtill more a Frenchman by inclination than birth, might be allowed to pay his reſpects to me. I anſwered La-Varenne, that he well knew every one was ſure of a polite reception at my houſe, and eccleſiaſtics eſpecially, who never perceived any more of my religion, than the obligation I thought it laid upon me to treat them with a diſtinguiſhing reſpect; and that, if this were not the caſe, the character he gave me of this jeſuit was ſufficient to inſure his welcome. This French jeſuit was father Cotton †, whom he brought with him the next day as I went into the hall to give audiences as uſual after dinner. The jeſuit approached me with all imaginable demonſtration of veneration and reſpect, and was laviſh in his praiſes of my great capacity, my ſervices, and likewiſe upon the protection which he ſaid he had been aſſured I was diſpoſed to grant his ſociety, intermingled with the moſt profound bows, and repeated aſſurances of gratitude, devotion and obedience. I was not deficient in a return of compliments and ceremony, being ſolicitous to omit nothing the perſon and preſent occaſion required.

The next day the council, ſtill compoſed of the ſame members as before, aſſembled for the ſecond time; and no affair was ever more quickly diſpatched; without entering into any diſcuſſion, or making a needleſs diſplay of arguments in favour of a queſtion already decided, I ſaid in brief, that the preſent conjuncture of the times required, that the jeſuits ſhould have a ſettlement in France. It was reſolved, that they ſhould take an oath to hold all the principles of true Frenchmen, and elect no one for a provincial, who was not French by birth: this they ſwore to perform, and all the paſt was buried in oblivion. All I have to add is, that during the whole time, I was extremely reſerved, and acted

† Peter Cotton, born 1564 at Neronde, of one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of Forez.

with

with great circumſpection, as well with regard to father Molina's opinion of grace, that was publiſhed this year, as upon ſome propoſitions of three jeſuits, which occaſioned high debates between thoſe that favoured, and thoſe that oppoſed them; eſpecially theſe two; that the Pope's being the ſucceſſor of Saint Peter was not a point of faith; and that confeſſion might be made by letters. On this occaſion, the jeſuits were ſoon ſenſible how neceſſary the royal interpoſition in their favour was to them. Had they been given over to the parliament, the Sorbonne, the univerſities, and the moſt part of the biſhops, and the cities in the kingdom, their doctrine had not taken deep root: but the king did not abandon his new favourites; and even, at the ſolicitations of La-Varenne, gave them his caſtle of La-Fleche, where they ſoon founded a very fine college. 1604.

The reſtoration of the jeſuits afforded matter for a real triumph to Villeroi, Jeannin, Du-Perron, and above all to D'Oſſat, who had not neglected their intereſts at Rome, where he ſtill reſided to manage his majeſty's affairs at that court. And here it ſeems proper to introduce that memorial, which was addreſſed to me from Italy againſt this eccleſiaſtic, and which, as has been obſerved, I had already mentioned to the king.

His majeſty was then gone to Chantilly, to ſpend a few days there in the month of April, on account of the pure air, the agreeableneſs of the place, the conveniency for hunting, and other country amuſements, which his phyſicians ſeemed to think neceſſary for his health. Upon ſome letters I wrote to him, in which I could not diſpenſe with myſelf from obſerving that by his abſence a great number of affairs were left undetermined, he returned immediately to Paris, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of his phyſicians to prevent him. The ſame evening that he arrived, he remembered the memorial in queſtion, and aſked me for it, by which he only

1604. prevented me, it being my intention to ſhew it him that day. I had brought it with me, between my coat and waiſtcoat, and I left it with him that he might examine it at his leiſure. I had made no alterations in it; and added nothing, except perhaps a few reflections which this paper had no great need of, to draw upon the perſon againſt whom it was wrote his majeſty's utmoſt diſpleaſure.

The author of this memorial, who had his reaſons for neither mentioning it in his own name, nor that of the perſon to whom it was addreſſed, endeavoured to prove, that D'Oſſat had prevaricated in every point of his commiſſion, and had accepted it with no other deſign, but to bring matters to that paſs, that the king ſhould be obliged to enter into the views of the catholic leaguers of his council, and to purſue a political plan very different from that they found he had hitherto conducted himſelf by. This new plan, which ſtill breathed the ſpirit of the league that gave it birth, conſiſted in uniting France in intereſt and friendſhip with the Pope, Spain, the archdukes, and Savoy, againſt all the proteſtant powers of Europe in general, and the proteſtants of this kingdom in particular; to make Henry concur with the Pope in placing a catholic prince on the throne of Great Britain; no longer to protect the United-Provinces; to uſe his authority to procure a general ſubmiſſion to the council of Trent; in a word, to make him adopt all the Auſtrian ſchemes, and all the maxims of the other ſide of the Alps. The jeſuits were to undertake the taſk of cementing this union, which was to be founded upon a marriage between the children of France and Spain, and the firſt effects of it the dethroning of king James.

The author of this memorial, to prove that he did not bring theſe heavy accuſations againſt D'Oſſat like a mere declaimer, juſtified the truth of them by that cardinal's own letters, as well thoſe I have formerly mentioned, as others which he had col-

lected, and by his common diſcourſe at Rome, either in public, or to my brother, ambaſſador to that court, and others in private: he explained the myſtery of thoſe almoſt inſurmountable obſtacles the holy father made to the king's abſolution, and the marriage of the princeſs his ſiſter: he ſhewed that they proceeded from D'Oſſat himſelf, who during the whole time that thoſe affairs were depending, abuſed with impunity the confidence his maſter repoſed in him; and, to prevent the reproaches he had reaſon to expect from him, gave him to underſtand, that he was under an abſolute neceſſity of perſuading the court of Rome, that his majeſty was of the ſame opinion, and that it was with great difficulty he ſuppreſſed thoſe reports which from time to time were ſpread to the contrary. 1604.

It is certain, that throughout this whole affair D'Oſſat acted with great art, as likewiſe in the inſinuations he ſecretly gave the king, that Spain, with reſpect to him, had only the moſt pacific intentions, for which the Pope was ready to be ſecurity. All this is ſo clear, and ſupported by the author with ſuch inconteſtable proofs, as forces belief, notwithſtanding that ſpirit of hatred and fury, which it cannot be denied every part of this paper breathes againſt D'Oſſat; he is alſo reproached in it with aſſuming the character of a great politician, and a conſummate ſtateſman, when he had ſo much reaſon to bluſh for his ignorance and incapacity; and that in this eccleſiaſtic nothing was to be found but the meanneſs of his original, having, before his advancement to the purple, been a pedagogue and a footman, and owed all the ſeveral advantageous changes in his fortune to the fawning arts he practiſed on Villeroi, and to his ſlaviſhly ſerving the hatred of other catholic leaguers to the proteſtants. At the concluſion of this memorial, the author earneſtly entreats the perſon into whoſe hands it ſhould happen to fall, to ſhew it to his majeſty.

1604. Setting aſide all that this paper contains of the extravagant or outrageous, which ſhew it came from a declared enemy, it muſt ſtill be confeſſed, that D'Oſſat could not eſcape the reproach of having ſlandered his ſovereign, and being ungrateful to his benefactor; and that he even left to poſterity the means of convicting him of thoſe two crimes, in the letters which through vanity he cauſed to be printed, wherein he calumniated Henry IV. as a prince who oppreſſed the clergy, deſtroyed the nobility, ruined the third eſtate of the kingdom, and acted like the tyrant of his people.

Nor is truth leſs violated in thoſe furious exclamations he makes againſt the proteſtants. What can one think of the epithets of impious, horrid, deteſtable, ſacrilegious, with which he brands a body that makes profeſſion to agree with him in the belief of all the fundamental articles of the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and have the ſame veneration for the divine writings in which they are contained, the Apoſtles Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer.

As to his political errors, though in D'Oſſat they may well be imputed to views too narrow and confined, yet they are not the leſs palpable. At a time when the ambitious projects of the houſe of Auſtria were in a manner poſted up throughout all Europe, he expoſed France to the danger of being the firſt victim of them, by breaking off for ever with all her allies that were to ſupport her againſt this proud and inſolent monarchy. And what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, this deſtructive policy communicated itſelf, as if by contagion, to the greateſt part of thoſe who were employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs: and what is yet more to be lamented, it gained ground upon the wiſeſt as well as the ſmalleſt party*:

* This ſyſtem of politics has not been productive of the miſchiefs M. de Sully apprehended it would occaſion; on the contrary, the event of it has been as favourable as it poſſibly could have

It

It was this policy that in the month of April this year expoſed Villeroi to one of the greateſt mortifications that could happen to a man in a public employment. The king, when he ſet out to Fontainebleau, where it was his cuſtom to keep his Eaſter, during which there was a ceſſation of all buſineſs in the council, took leave of his counſellors till the Sunday after Eaſter; but on Good Friday he recalled me by a letter, in which he informed me, that he had diſcovered ſome treaſonable practices in his court, and that he wanted to conſer with me; for which purpoſe he would order poſt-horſes to be ready for me at Ablon on Eaſter-Sunday, that I might ſet out for Fontainebleau when the communion was over. I did ſo, and this was the affair in queſtion. 1604.

Villeroi had a clerk in his office named Nicolas L'Hote *, whoſe family, from father to ſon, had been attached to that of Villeroi; but the perſon of whom we are now ſpeaking, before he entered into his ſervice, had been ſecretary to the count de La-

been. It is nevertheleſs true, and will in ſome degree be a juſtification of our author's manner of reaſoning on this occaſion, that if the execution of theſe deſigns, of which the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion in France was the principal, had fallen into the hands of any other than cardinal de Richelieu, the ſucceſs of it would not only have been doubtful; but if an attempt of ſo great conſequence as this had by any means miſcarried, France would, in all probability, have been replunged into the frightful ſituation ſhe was in during the reign of the children of Henry II.

Cardinal de Richelieu did not, however, in every reſpect follow the plan attributed to D'Oſſat, Villeroi, &c. ſince during his whole life he was engaged in war with Spain. The perfect knowledge he had of the particular reſources on which France could depend, and which, if we may judge from appearances, he had acquired principally from Sully's Memoirs, made him take in, and in ſome degree reconcile, both theſe oppoſite ſyſtems, by entering into the deſign of weakening the houſe of Auſtria, in purſuance of the one; and of deſtroying Calviniſm in France, according to the other of them. I don't know of any one inſtance that ſo evidently proves as this does, what a ſingle man is capable of. The proteſtants of France, who had obtained a toleration of themſelves, after having remained undiſturbed full thirty years, were almoſt at once, brought into an entire ſubjection: this happened, becauſe on the one ſide there was a cardinal de Richelieu, and on the other there was no longer a Henry of Navarre.

* Or, as others ſay, Du-Portail.

1604. Rochepot, when he was ſent ambaſſador from France to Spain. L'Hote had wit, but of that ſort that ſtrongly inclines the owner to artifice and intrigue. During his ſtay in Spain he contracted an intimacy with the Spaniſh ſecretaries of ſtate, Don Juan Idiaques, Francheſes, and Prada, to whom he betrayed the ſecrets of the ambaſſador his maſter. When La-Rochepot returned to France, L'Hote finding himſelf without any employment, ſolicited Villeroi, whoſe godſon he was, for a place in his office, and was by him entruſted to decypher his diſpatches; which was very agreeable to L'Hote, as it afforded him an opportunity of carrying on his firſt trade with ſecurity.

Barrault *, who ſucceeded the count de La-Rochepot in Spain, perceived, a ſhort time after, that the ſecrets of his prince were known to that court; and in vain tortured his imagination to diſcover from whence this misfortune proceeded. Not being able to fix upon any particular perſon, he entreated his majeſty, in a ſhort letter addreſſed to himſelf, to look upon all the clerks in his ſecretaries offices, eſpecially thoſe belonging to Villeroi, as ſuſpected perſons. This treachery extended its influence to all our other ambaſſadors to the ſeveral courts of Europe, who were extremely aſtoniſhed, and complained to the king, as Barrault had done, that the contents of their diſpatches were known at theſe courts as ſoon as they received them from France, and very often before.

But neither Barrault nor they could penetrate any farther into the affair, till Barrault was one day accoſted by a Frenchman of Bourdeaux, a refugee in Spain, whoſe name was John de Leyré,

* Emeric Gobier de Barrault. It is related of this ambaſſador, that being one day at a comedy in Spain, in which the battle of Pavia was repreſented, and ſeeing a Spaniſh actor throw him down who performed the character of Francis I. ſet his foot on his throat, and in the moſt outrageous terms, obliged him to aſk quarter, he got upon the ſtage, and in ſight of the whole houſe, ran the actor through the body with his ſword. Amelot's notes on D'Oſſat.

but

but better known by that of Rafis, which he had borne when he was in the ſervice of the league, having been one * of the moſt active of the incendiaries, and on that account not being able to get himſelf comprehended in the pardon, was obliged to fly into Spain, where his ſervices, which conſiſted in revealing ſome advices he ſtill received from his aſſociates in France, were rewarded by a good penſion that was allowed him by that court, and which was continued to him, till the council of Spain having procured by other means more certain intelligence than any they could get from Rafis, he ſoon perceived, by the contempt he was treated with at Madrid, and the diſcontinuance of his penſion, that his credit was ſunk all of a ſudden; and changing his battery that inſtant, he applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to find out who was the traitor in France that had enriched himſelf with his ſpoils, not doubting but that if he ſhould ſucceed, this diſcovery would purchaſe his recal to his own country, which he had always in his view, and probably procure him greater advantages than thoſe he loſt in Spain. 1604.

Men educated in the arts of faction, and the myſtery of intrigue, have talents for theſe ſort of diſcoveries peculiar to themſelves. Rafis got acquainted with another Frenchman, named John Blas, who had ſettled in Spain, and it was from him that he learned in what manner L'Hote had abuſed the confidence of his firſt maſter. Rafis, ſtruck with this hint, fixed, as by inſtinct, on this man; having procured from other perſons information that he was actually one of Villeroi's ſecretaries, at that diſtance his ſagacity alone diſcovered to him what ſo many others upon the very ſpot were ignorant of.

His ſuſpicions being changed into a certainty, he went to Barrault, and offered to point out the traitor of whom he complained, but that care muſt be

* L'Etoile ſays, he had been one of the ſixteen.

1604. taken to prevent his having any ſuſpicion that he was diſcovered, on condition, that if his informations were found to be true, the king would give him a free pardon in form, and a decent penſion. Barrault thought the affair of ſuch importance, that he made no ſcruple to promiſe both. Raſis likewiſe exacted a promiſe from Barrault, and this with a view to his own ſafety, that he ſhould proceed ſlowly and cautiouſly in the affair; and that when he wrote to France upon the propoſals that had been made to him, he ſhould addreſs himſelf to none but the king. But Barrault underſtood this laſt requeſt as an exceſs of unneceſſary caution, which did not exclude him from acquainting his majeſty's chief miniſters with the affair: and it was Villeroi himſelf that he informed of Raſis's offer and propoſals. Villeroi, who did not imagine that the traitor was in his own office, ſent the diſpatches immediately to the king: but L'Hote being with his maſter when this packet from Barrault was opened, drove directly at his purpoſe; and reflecting upon the importance of the advice, acted in the very manner that Raſis had with ſo much reaſon been apprehenſive he would do; for he wrote inſtantly to his correſpondents in Spain, deſiring them to take all the neceſſary meaſures, and that without delay, to prevent Raſis from diſcovering more. This was the beſt method he could think of to ſecure himſelf, and to prevent any bad conſequences; and it would probably have ſucceeded, had the perſon concerned been any other than Raſis.

This man, when he received his pardon, which his majeſty ſent him, together with his anſwer to his propoſals, obſerved that it was not ſigned by Lomenie, to whom the king would naturally have referred it, if it had not been offered him by another train of conveyance; and concluding from thence that it had paſſed Villeroi's office, he went directly to the ambaſſador, and complained that he had deceived him; and now thinking it no longer neceſ-

ſary

ſary to conceal any thing, he told him his reaſons for preſſing him to write only to the king, and to Villeroi leſs than any other perſon: he gave him, in a few words, all the informations he had promiſed him concerning L'Hote's intrigues; that done, he told Barrault, that to avoid, if it was ſtill poſſible, the danger with which he was threatened at Madrid, he had nothing left for it but to endeavour to gain the French territories with the utmoſt expedition. And accordingly he mounted his horſe that moment; and it was happy for him that he did ſo, for the next morning his houſe was inveſted by archers, who were ſent after him with orders to make all poſſible haſte, that they might come up with him before he reached the frontier: but Rafis, by good fortune, or rather by his own extreme diligence, eſcaped with Deſcartes, Barrault's ſecretary, whom this ambaſſador permitted to accompany him, to preſent him in France. They never reſted till they found themſelves at Bayonne, from whence continuing their rout without delay, they came to Paris, and hearing the king was at Fontainebleau, ſet out directly for that place. 1604.

On the road he met Villeroi, who was going from Fontainebleau to his houſe at Juviſy; and believing they ought not to conceal any thing from him, intreated him to have his clerk arreſted by way of ſecurity; and that they might have the ſole honour of the affair, offered to return themſelves to Paris to arreſt him. Villeroi neither approved of their propoſal, nor the offer they made him of their perſons; which, it muſt be confeſſed, was an inſtance of great imprudence; but he, doubtleſs, imagined, that it was not poſſible for L'Hote to eſcape. He told the two couriers, that his clerk was to come to him the next day, and that it would be then time enough for them to ſecure him; it being likewiſe his opinion, that his majeſty ought firſt to be ſpoke to about it; and that they riſked nothing by this delay, provided they kept a profound ſilence.

Surpriſed

1604. Surpriſed and diſſatisfied as they were at this proceeding, it was their buſineſs to obey; and they delivered the packets they were charged with, to him, to be given to his majeſty, which he did the next day.

The king had not yet received theſe packets on Eaſter-day when I came to Fontainebleau, nor by conſequence knew of the two couriers arrival, or the name of him that betrayed him; the only certain intelligence he had was, the warning that had been given him to hold all the clerks of Villeroi ſuſpected. As I did not reach Fontainebleau till it was very late, and was greatly fatigued with my journey, I did not wait on his majeſty till the next morning. I found him up and dreſſed, though it was ſcarcely ſun-riſe. Barrault's informations had given him great uneaſineſs. This prince took my hand, and leading me into the gallery that joined to his apartment, conferred with me there a long time upon the news he had juſt received from his ambaſſador. The diſpatches from London that had been loſt, coming into his mind, and all that I had ſaid when I imputed this misfortune to Villeroi's people, which at that time he took for an effect of jealouſy and hatred, now appeared to him ſo well founded, that he acknowledged to me he began to give credit to it, and to conceive very unfavourable thoughts of Villeroi. As he did not expect that Deſcartes and Rafis would arrive ſo ſoon, he ordered me to ſift this matter to the bottom, and uſe my utmoſt endeavours to find out the truth.

His majeſty and I had been three days employed in endeavouring to make diſcoveries, when Villeroi arrived with the packets beforementioned. I was walking with the king in the long gallery of the garden of Pines *, and preparing to take leave of him for my return to Paris, at the very moment that Villeroi came up to us. His countenance ex-

* The gallery of Ulyſſes.

preſſed

preſſed all that grief the conſciouſneſs of having ſuch news to inform his majeſty of muſt neceſſarily inſpire; and I may venture to ſay, that for a man who had ſome cauſe to wiſh to humble a rival, or at leaſt to rejoice in his humiliation, I ſympathized truly with him in his affliction. While he read the papers, his majeſty often looked at me, and preſſed my hand ſeveral times. He did not give him time to read them out, but interrupting him at the name of L'Hote, "And where is this L'Hote, "your clerk?" ſaid his majeſty, with ſome emotion, "have you not cauſed him to be ſeized?" "I believe, ſire," replied Villeroi, in great conſternation, "that he is at my houſe, but he is not yet arreſted." "How!" returned Henry, in a rage, "you believe "he is in your houſe, and yet you have not ordered "him to be ſeized! *Pardieu!* this is great negli- "gence indeed; how could you trifle thus when "you knew his treachery? this buſineſs muſt be "attended to immediately: go back with all poſſible haſte, and ſeize him yourſelf." 1604.

Villeroi departed in the utmoſt grief and confuſion; and I did not delay a moment my return to Paris; when the next day I received a letter from his majeſty, who charged Deſcartes to tell me from him all that had paſſed. Since I find myſelf engaged to relate this affair, that I may avoid the reproach of having ſupported ſuch accounts of it as have been given by the enemies of Villeroi, in what remains to be ſaid I ſhall follow the detail he himſelf gives of it, in the apology for his conduct, which he thought it neceſſary to * make public. After having recounted, in a manner advantageous for himſelf, all that had paſſed from the moment wherein he ſpoke to the two couriers, to the time that he went to the

* See the original of this apology in Villeroi's Memoirs of ſtate, p. 522. it bears date the 3d of May. There can be no doubt of its containing a faithful relation of the ſentiments and actions of this miniſter, it being ſtrictly conformable to the accounts given of it by M. de Thou, the Chronol. Septen. Matthieu, and all other hiſtorians of credit of that time.

king

1604. king at Fontainebleau, he proceeds in the following manner.

That at his return to his houſe, he found the biſhop of Chartres and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, who waited for him, and detained him a long time in his cloſet, the ſubject of their conference being the ſettling ſome points relating to the approaching ceremony of the order of the Garter. When Deſcartes came to his apartment to acquaint him that L'Hote, with Deſnots, were juſt arrived from Paris, his reſpect for his company hindered him from interrupting them. L'Hote, on his firſt entring the houſe, was ſaluted with the news of the arrival of the two couriers from Spain, yet preſerved preſence of mind enough to appear but little concerned at it; and pretending that he was hungry and would go and eat a morſel in the kitchen, only paſſed thro' it, telling the maitre d'hotel that he would go to a public houſe and refreſh himſelf, and get his boots taken off, that he might be in a condition to appear before his maſter. Villeroi, after his company went away, aſked where L'Hote was; and being informed that he was in the offices, as every body thought he was, he thought he could not do better than ſend a ſervant to tell the maitre d'hotel, that he ſhould amuſe L'Hote with ſome diſcourſe, and not loſe ſight of him: he himſelf, in the mean time, went to Lomenie, to deſire that he would lend him Du-Broc, lieutenant du prevôt, who he intended ſhould arreſt him. He brought back Lomenie with him, and they placed themſelves at a window that looked into the court where the whole tranſaction was to paſs. But theſe precautions were too late, L'Hote had already eſcaped.

Thoſe who judge favourably enough of Villeroi to take the whole recital upon his word, will at leaſt probably exclaim here againſt the dilatory manner in which this ſecretary of ſtate executed thoſe orders he had juſt received from the king's own mouth, and in a tone as abſolute as it was preſſing: he would

would be ſtill more culpable, if a thouſand circum- 1604.
ſtances of L'Hote's eſcape, made public by Deſ-
cartes and Raſis, which were not mentioned in his apology, were true: however, it would be certainly great injuſtice to believe every thing that on this occaſion was ſaid againſt Villeroi *; his enemies had too good an opportunity afforded them to rail, not to take advantage of it; the proteſtants, eſpecially, painted him in the blackeſt colours, not able to deny themſelves the pleaſure of being revenged on him, who had contributed more than any other to the king's change of religion. But, on the other ſide, it is not fit to hold him clear of any blame, as thoſe that are devoted to him do, who inſiſt, that his whole conduct in this affair was juſtifiable. All my friends did not ſcruple to ſay publicly, that, if ſuch an accident had happened in my family, I ſhould have been much more ſeverely reflected upon. The foreign ambaſſadors reſiding in France, and even the Pope's nuncio, came to my houſe at Paris, and declared to me, that if, after ſuch a diſcovery, their diſpatches muſt ſtill paſs through Villeroi's hands, their maſters would not venture to mention any thing of conſequence in them.

As to the traitor, all that could be done was to ſend ſome archers after him, who purſued him ſo cloſely, that when he came to the ſide of the river Marne, with a Spaniard who accompanied him, and at a ſmall diſtance from a ferry-boat, he could not hope to reach it before they came up with him, and ſaw no other way to avoid their purſuit, than to throw himſelf into the river, thinking to ſwim over it; but he was drowned in the attempt. The Spaniard choſe rather to be taken; and he was brought

* De Thou remarks, that M. de Villeroi did not abſolutely eſcape ſuſpicion; but at the ſame time he ſays, that Henry IV. far from ſuffering himſelf to be influenced by it, endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortune, book cxxxii. P. Matthieu likewiſe aſſerts, that Henry IV. was too well acquainted with the fidelity of this miniſter to conceive the leaſt ſuſpicion againſt him, vol. II. b. iii. p. 637.

1604. back to Paris, with the body of L'Hote, which was drawn out of the water. Villeroi ſeemed truly afflicted that they had not been able to ſeize his clerk alive: indeed he had reaſon to regret it; it was the only means he had left to ſtop the mouth of ſlander. He was the firſt to propoſe to me, in a letter he wrote to me about this affair, to have the carcaſe* treated with the utmoſt ignominy, and to puniſh the Spaniard in an exemplary manner.

All this could not appeaſe the king. He knew not, for a long time after this adventure, in what light to behold Villeroi: and was three days in doubt whether it was not fit to baniſh him from his preſence. But Villeroi threw himſelf at his majeſty's feet, with ſo many marks of a profound ſorrow, ſhed tears in ſuch abundance, and made ſuch deep proteſtations of his innocence, that Henry could not help believing him (though the world would never be perſuaded, but that he only feigned to believe him) and with that goodneſs, ſo natural to him, granted the pardon he ſo vehemently implored.

Matters were in this ſtate, when I returned to Fontainebleau, to inform his majeſty, which I was indiſpenſably obliged to do, of the repreſentations made me by the foreign ambaſſadors. It was reſolved, that the cypher made uſe of by our ambaſſadors ſhould be

* The ſurgeons who examined his corps, were unanimouſly of opinion, if we may give credit to L'Etoile, that he had not been drowned: and, as there was no more appearance of his having been ſtabbed or ſtrangled, they concluded he had been ſmothered, and afterwards thrown into the river. The Septennaire takes no notice of this examination by the ſurgeons, but gives an ample detail of the particulars of L'Hote's flight, and the manner in which he was found, which totally deſtroys the validity of the account given by L'Etoile, who, upon other occaſions, has given ſufficient proofs of his diſlike to M. de Villeroi, and yet could not avoid acknowledging, that Henry IV. did not treat M. de Villeroi with the more coldneſs on this account; "taking the "trouble, ſays he, of going even "to his houſe, to comfort him in "his ſorrow, not diſcovering the "leaſt ſigns of diffidence of him "by reaſon of what had paſt, but "ſeeming rather to put more truſt "in him than before. It was "therefore ſaid at court, that it "was happy for him he had ſo "good a maſter, ſince, in affairs "of ſtate of ſo much conſequence, "kings and princes uſually expect "maſters ſhould be anſwerable "for the acts of their ſervants." Anno 1604, p. 24.

changed;

changed; and the king now thought only of taking advantage of this incident, to make Villeroi more exact (I repeat the king's own words) more cautious in the choice of his clerks, and leſs haughty than he had formerly been. His majeſty concerted with me a letter, which he thought likely to produce this effect, becauſe I was to make it public: this letter was brought to me at Paris by Perroton from the king, as if to acquaint me with the indulgences he had thought fit to ſhew Villeroi. The contents were, that his majeſty could not refuſe a pardon to the tears and entreaties of this ſecretary; that I ought no longer to diſtruſt him, ſince he did not; and that, in his preſent condition, charity required, that I ſhould write to him a letter to give him comfort, and an aſſurance of my friendſhip; and this he entreated me to do. 1604.

I ſeconded the good intentions of his majeſty without any reluctance, and, I may even ſay, with more ſincerity than he required of me, except that I could not prevail upon myſelf to write to Villeroi, that I held him entirely diſculpated. This I thought would appear a ridiculous piece of flattery: I ſaid enough to afford him the means of perſuading the public, by my letter, that I was convinced he was innocent of the capital crime of which he was accuſed. I gave him the hint of the declaration he publiſhed ſome days afterwards, and repreſented to him, that he ought to endeavour to ſhut the mouths of the proteſtants, to whoſe cenſure he had laid himſelf open; and that the only method he could uſe for that purpoſe, was to relax a little of that violence he had ſhewn againſt them, by ſeeking to inſpire the catholics with more benevolent ſentiments of them; and laſtly, to appear publicly the promoter of that regulation I had ſo often propoſed to him, to eſtabliſh a perfect concord between theſe two bodies. If in this letter I added, that his abſolute juſtification in the king's opinion depended upon his future behaviour,

1604. viour, and if as to what had paſſed I produced the example of marechal Biron, it was only in obedience to the king's commands; who was willing to appear indulgent, but not weak.

Villeroi, in his anſwer to my letter; thanked me for the advice I had given him, which he aſſured me he would exactly follow, and for my good offices, which he proteſted he would never forget. He confeſſed, that he ought not to have ſo blindly confided in a young man like L'Hote, and was candid enough to acknowledge, that although his conſcience did not reproach him with the guilt of any crime againſt the king, yet the error he had fallen into was ſufficient to caſt a ſtain upon his reputation, which all the faithful ſervices he was reſolved to continue to render his majeſty, during the remainder of his life, would never wipe off. In his defence he only ſaid, that the great obligations L'Hote had received from him were what made it ſo difficult for him to believe he could fail in his duty. Villeroi ſeldom wrote to me without renewing the mention of his fault, his misfortune, and his innocence, and almoſt always the obligations he thought he owed to me on this occaſion.

It appeared that Barrault did not give credit to the injurious reports that were ſpread of Villeroi by his enemies, ſince he wrote to him, a ſhort time afterwards, and gave him an account of a converſation between himſelf and Prada, of which L'Hote was the ſubject. Rafis had reaſon to be ſatisfied with a recompence that was made him; beſides the ſum of fifteen hundred and ſixty livres, which he received from Barrault when he left Spain, a gratuity of a thouſand crowns was beſtowed on him, and all the conditions agreed to by the ambaſſador were fulfilled. This did not hurt Barrault himſelf, being paid in the laſt quarter of his penſion. Deſcartes repreſented to the king, that a man could not live in Spain but at great expence; and

and that, notwithſtanding all my letters, his maſter had not been able to get any thing from that quarter. 1604.

The paper upon religion, that has been mentioned before, conſiſted of ſome articles, which, if received by the catholics and proteſtants, appeared to me capable of uniting the two religions, by deſtroying that deteſtable prejudice which makes them load each other with the harſh accuſations of hereſy and treaſon, impiety and idolatry. This paper I had drawn up with the conſent and approbation of his majeſty; and I ſhewed it to him ſeveral times, in the preſence of the biſhop of Evreux, Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and father Cotton.

If the proteſtants do not believe all the catholics profeſs, it cannot at leaſt be denied, that we believe nothing which they do not likewiſe; and that what we believe contains all that is eſſential in the chriſtian religion, the Ten commandments, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, being the great and general foundation of our common faith. Here then let us ſtop, and conſider the reſt as ſo many dubious points, about which men may be left at full liberty to have different opinions. We are perſuaded, that it is not only uſeleſs, but criminal, to ſearch into the ſecrets of the Almighty; but, we not only ſearch into his ſecrets, but ſet up ourſelves as judges of them, when we charge one another as criminal for having different opinions, and different degrees of knowledge, with relation to ſpeculative truth, though knowledge, in all its different degrees, is received from God. Let us leave to him alone the knowledge of his ſecrets, as well as the diſpenſations of his providence: let us allow to the ſovereign magiſtrate, what the public good requires, the power of puniſhing thoſe who violate the laws of charity in any ſociety; for it belongs not to any human judicature to puniſh errors only cognizable by God. Let us conſider this in another view; if our unhappineſs be ſuch, that the error is on our

1604. ſide, can the catholics imagine that they ſhall bring us into their notions by abuſe and perſecution? Compaſſion and tenderneſs are the only means that do any ſervice to religion, and the only means that religion dictates: the zeal which is ſo much boaſted, is only rage or obſtinacy, diſguiſed under a reputable appellation. This was the groundwork of my paper: nothing can be more plain or more true; but the power which men allow truth to have over them is very ſmall; and what is generally called reaſon in religion, if examined well, is, in moſt men, nothing more than their own paſſion.

If to reconcile the two religions is morally impoſſible, it may, with equal certainty, be ſaid to be politically impoſſible, ſince it cannot be done without the concurrence of the Pope, which cannot be expected, ſince it was not obtained in the pontificate of Clement VIII. who, of all the Popes that have for a long time ſat in the ſee of Rome, was moſt free from party prejudices, and had more of that gentleneſs and compaſſion which the goſpel preſcribes to all its followers.

The holy father was at this time ſo old and infirm, that his death was hourly expected. The king thought it neceſſary to ſend the cardinals de Joyeuſe, and de Sourdis to Rome, to manage the intereſts of the nation in the approaching conclave. His majeſty, by the advice of cardinal Joyeuſe, gave de Sourdis nine thouſand livres for his equipage, and the expence of his journey, with a penſion of two thouſand four hundred crowns a year, during the time that he ſtaid at Rome upon his affairs.

One of the laſt actions of Clement the eighth was the promotion of eighteen cardinals at one time, which made it generally believed that this Pope, finding himſelf near his end, was deſirous of giving his nephew cardinal Aldobrandin a laſt proof of his affection, that, according to all appearances, would place him upon the pontifical throne, by the great number of dependents on his family which

were introduced into the conclave, or, at leaſt, that the papal dignity ſhould be conferred on one under whom this cardinal might expect to govern. Two of theſe hats were to be given to France; and the choice of the two men, whom the king was to name to his holineſs for this dignity, was the occaſion of a ſtrong intrigue at court, between the biſhop of Evreux and Seraphin Olivary * on one ſide, and meſſieurs de Villars, archbiſhop of Vienne, and de Marquemont on the other. The two laſt were ſupported by the intereſt of Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and all their friends; and I thought myſelf obliged to range myſelf on the ſide of Du Perron, and Olivary, the one being my biſhop and particular friend, and the other remarkably diſtinguiſhed for his eminent piety. Notwithſtanding all the intrigues of the oppoſite party, Du-Perron and Olivary were preferred; and the former, by my advice, wrote a letter of thanks to Villeroi, as if he had really ſollicited his advancement: ſuch is the cuſtom of courts. 1604.

The preſſing affairs that had obliged his majeſty to leave Chantilly, and at the beginning of ſpring, was the clearing and ſigning the common computations for the expence of his buildings, his hunting, his privy purſe, as likewiſe of the fortifications, artillery, and roads. When the day was fixed for the tranſacting this buſineſs, his majeſty, to ſhun that crowd of petitioners who waited only for an opportunity of ſeeing us together, ſent the young Lomenie to tell me that I need not come to the Louvre, becauſe he would be himſelf the next day at the Arſenal; and accordingly he came ſo early in the morning, that many of the officers, concerned in the affairs that were to be ſettled, all of whom I had ſent for, were not yet come. The number of theſe was far from being inconſiderable, governors of for-

* Seraphin Olivary Cazailla, an Italian by deſcent, but born at Lyons, patriarch of Alexandria. Jerom de Villars. Denis de Marquemont, archbiſhop of Lyons: he afterwards was made a cardinal, and ambaſſador from France to Rome.

1604. treſſes, engineers, intendants, and comptrollers of the buildings, the ſeveral perſons belonging to the board of ordnance, overſeers of bridges and cauſeys, and others.

Henry had ſomething of conſequence to impart to me; I judged ſo by that deep melancholy which, notwithſtanding his endeavours to diſguiſe, appeared in his countenance and language, and alſo becauſe he led me into the great gallery of arms, the place where he generally communicated his ſecrets to me: and here the reader may expect to find one of thoſe remarkable converſations that he has already met with in theſe Memoirs.

Our diſcourſe did not begin with the chief cauſes of his uneaſineſs; the heart, involved in its own vexation, has need, in the firſt inſtant, of the help of other objects to be diſentangled, eſpecially if with this vexation be mingled ſomething of confuſion. Therefore the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, with the reſt of that cabal, were the ſubject he firſt led to; theſe perſons having lately through malice united themſelves with the prince of Condé, the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and the family of d'Entragues; and thoſe from whom his majeſty had received this information, offered to prove the truth of it by their own letters, and other undeniable teſtimonies.

Having deſired this prince to allow me a whole day to conſider what advice it was moſt proper to give him on occaſion of this new intrigue, he changed the diſcourſe to his excurſion to Chantilly, his hunting; and afterwards he gave me an account of his loſſes at play, the money he laid out in preſents to his miſtreſſes, and other ſuperfluous expences, which were to have their place in the expence of the current year, as well as the money applied to the manufactures and other buildings, which altogether made up ſo conſiderable a ſum, that Henry, who ſecretly reproached himſelf for theſe extravagancies, could think of no better expedient to prevent the confu-

ſion

ſion he expected my remonſtrances would give him, 1604.
than to add, before I had time to reply, that I might
alſo place there a gratuity of ſix thouſand crowns, which he now granted me. This precaution could not hinder me from giving evident marks of my aſtoniſhment and grief at the increaſe of ſuch trifling expences. Henry again endeavoured to avoid coming to any explanation with me, by ſaying, that, after ſpending ſo great a part of his life in continual labours and fatigue, he had a right to allow himſelf now ſome indulgence in his pleaſures. I anſwered the king with my accuſtomed ſincerity and firmneſs, that what he ſaid was indeed very reaſonable and juſt, if, inſtead of thoſe great projects he had communicated to me, and which by his orders I had imparted to the king of England, he had reſolved to paſs the reſt of his life in the enervating pleaſures of luxury; but that if he ſtill retained any thoughts of purſuing his former ſchemes, he would deceive himſelf greatly if he ſuppoſed them compatible with ſuch expenſive amuſements, and therefore he muſt determine his choice upon the one or the other. I ſtopped at theſe words; Henry having ſilently liſtened to me while I was ſpeaking, like a man who was full of anxiety, and wholly abſorbed in thought. But the preſent diſpoſition of the heart, whatever that may be, always governs our firſt emotions, and in him that moment produced nothing but vexation and rage; yet he contented himſelf with telling me, that he perceived I had entertained very unfavourable thoughts of him, and commanded me, without troubling him any more, to carry the ſums he had mentioned to account.

Still, however, I was not diſcouraged. I knew the heart of this prince as well as my own; I had always found him ſenſible to glory, and open to conviction, and I could not believe him changed in ſo ſhort a time: inſtead therefore of having recourſe to the ordinary palliatives, after telling him, that I

1604. ſaw plainly the freedom I had formerly uſed in my repreſentations was now become diſpleaſing to him, I again renewed the former ſubject, and talked to him of the meaſures he had already taken in Germany and Italy, to prepare the way for thoſe glorious actions he one day intended to perform, and the ſucceſs the perſons he had employed there for that purpoſe had already found. I repeated, that it was uſeleſs to take all this trouble, if the money that ſhould be deſtined for thoſe great enterpriſes, was ſquandered away on unneceſſary expences. I convinced him, by a very exact calculation, that he could not engage in the execution of theſe deſigns, without having before-hand forty-five millions entire, that is, the revenue of two years, which it required the ſtricteſt economy to keep together; and that with this ſum the war could not be ſupported more than three years, without anticipating the royal revenues, or burthening the people with extraordinary taxes. This the following calculation makes evident.

The maintenance of an army of fifty-thouſand foot, which is the leaſt that could be employed on this occaſion, will coſt nine hundred thouſand livres a month, and nine millions a year, allowing only ten months to the year; ſix thouſand horſe, which is the number anſwerable to ſuch a body of infantry, will require three hundred and forty thouſand livres a month, that is, three millions four hundred thouſand livres a year; a train of artillery of forty pieces of cannon, cannot well be ſupplied at a leſs expence than a hundred and fifty thouſand livres a month, and fifteen hundred thouſand a year. Theſe three articles alone make up fourteen millions each year; and by conſequence, near forty two millions will be required for the three years together, on a ſuppoſition that the war will continue ſo long. The expence of making levies, of hiring carriages, of victual, and other things abſolutely neceſſary at the beginning of a war, cannot be eſtimated at leſs than a hun-

a hundred and fifty thouſand livres; the waſte of 1604.
that victual, with other unforeſeen expences in ammunition, muſt amount likewiſe to the ſame ſum. The remainder of the forty-five millions, it may eaſily be imagined, will be conſumed in extraordinary expences, too tedious to inſert here.

The king ſtill anſwered, that, before every thing could be in readineſs for the execution of theſe ſchemes, ſo many obſtacles would ariſe as to render all his endeavours uſeleſs: but while he ſpoke in this manner, I perceived that his anger was already wholly extinguiſhed, and that he approved of all I had ſaid to him. This he immediately after confeſſed, and, at the ſame time, declared, with a ſincerity truly commendable in an abſolute prince, that the obſtacles he had raiſed, and the ſevere things he had ſaid to me, proceeded only from the anxiety of a heart oppreſſed with a more cruel affliction than that he had at firſt complained of when he mentioned the traiterous cabal, and that his peace was wholly ruined by the behaviour of the queen, and the marchioneſs of Verneuil. Theſe words, unhappily but too ſincere, changed the ſubject of our converſation.

Henry's paſſion for mademoiſelle d'Entragues was one of thoſe unhappy diſeaſes of the mind, which, like a ſlow poiſon, preyed upon the principles of life; for the heart, attacked in its moſt ſenſible part, feels, indeed, the whole force of its misfortune, but, by a cruel fatality, has neither the power, nor the inclination to be freed from it. This prince ſuffered all the inſolence, the caprices, and inequalities * of temper, that a proud and ambitious wo-

* He reproaches her on this account, in ſome of his letters, which have been preſerved amongſt the manuſcripts in the king's library, and are of his own hand writing. He writes to his lady in theſe terms: "I perceive from your letter, that "neither your eyes, nor your underſtanding are extremely clear, "ſince you have taken what I "wrote to you in a quite different "ſenſe from what I intended. An "end muſt be put to theſe pertneſſes, if you propoſe to keep "the entire poſſeſſion of my love; "for neither as a king or a Gaſcoon, can I ſubmit to them: beſides, thoſe who love ſincerely "as I do, expect to be flattered, "not ſcolded," &c. "You have

1604. man is capable of ſhewing. The marchioneſs of Verneuil had wit enough to diſcover the power ſhe had over the king; and this power ſhe never exerted but to torment him. She talked to him continually of her ſcruples, and regretted the facility with which ſhe had yielded to his deſires; ſcruples which he reſented with ſo much the more reaſon, as he was not ignorant that ſhe forgot them entirely with perſons of inferior rank. They now ſeldom met but to quarrel: Henry paid a high price for favours which were not endeared by that tender ſympathy which forms the happineſs of lovers, and which, to complete his misfortune, occaſioned almoſt continual uneaſineſs between him and the queen his wife.

This princeſs, on her ſide, who had from nature a temper too uncomplying, and from her country a ſtrong propenſity to jealouſy, not being able to make her rival feel all the effects of her hatred, revenged herſelf upon her huſband: and thus was this unhappy prince expoſed to the fury of two women, who agreed in nothing but in ſeparately conſpiring to deſtroy his quiet. Whatever endeavours were uſed to produce a reconciliation between the king and his wife, were rendered ineffectual almoſt at the ſame moment: the queen began immediately to require a ſacrifice that Henry could not make her; and his refuſal, though ſoftened with the grant of every other wiſh, affected her ſo ſenſibly, that ſhe forgot all his compliances, and laboured herſelf to continue the cauſe of her own uneaſineſs, by depriving him, together with the privileges of a huſband, of all that tenderneſs and regard that conciliates affection and fixes inclination.

" promiſed me," ſays he in another letter, " to behave with more " prudence; but you muſt be ſen- " ſible, the ſtyle of your other " letter could not but give me of- " fence," &c. Amongſt other original letters of Henry the Great, in poſſeſſion of the preſent duke of Sully, there is one from this prince to his miſtreſs. See the collection of the letters of Henry the Great, lately publiſhed.

She was ſoon informed, that the king had given mademoiſelle d'Entragues a promiſe of marriage, the original of which, as I have formerly mentioned, had been torn by me, but another had been drawn up by the king; and ſhe never ceaſed tormenting him till he had promiſed to get from his miſtreſs this paper, which all the eccleſiaſtics whom ſhe conſulted aſſured her was of no force. Henry, merely to oblige her, at length reſolved to deſire the marchioneſs to reſtore it; and he demanded it of her in a manner that ſhewed he would not be refuſed. He had juſt left her when he came to the Arſenal: the effort he had made upon himſelf to take this ſtep, the little advantage he had drawn from it, and the offenſive language with which his miſtreſs had accompanied her refuſal, had all together produced that deep affliction in which I ſaw him. 1604.

The marchioneſs of Verneuil, upon the firſt intimation that it was expected ſhe ſhould reſign the promiſe of marriage, threw herſelf into the moſt violent tranſport of rage imaginable, and told the king, inſolently, that he might ſeek it elſewhere. Henry, that he might finiſh at once all the harſh things he had to ſay to her, began to reproach her with her connections with the count d'Auvergne her brother, and with the malcontents of the kingdom. She would not condeſcend to clear herſelf of this imputed crime, but aſſuming in her turn the language of reproach, ſhe told him, that it was not poſſible to live any longer with him; that as he grew old he grew jealous and ſuſpicious, and that ſhe would with joy break off a correſpondence for which ſhe had been too ill rewarded to find any thing agreeable in it, and which rendered her, ſhe ſaid, the object of the public hatred. She carried her inſolence ſo far, as to ſpeak of the queen in terms ſo contemptuous, that, if we may believe Henry, he was upon the point of ſtriking her; and that he might not be forced to commit ſuch an outrage to decency, he was obliged to quit her abruptly, but full

1604. full of rage and vexation, which he was at no pains to conceal, ſwearing that he would make her reſtore the promiſe that had raiſed this ſtorm.

After giving me this account of the behaviour of his miſtreſs, the remembrance of which renewed all his rage, he was forced to grant (and without his confeſſion I ſhould have much ſuſpected it) that he ſhould with difficulty bring himſelf to a reſolution of keeping the oath he had made in the firſt ſallies of his fury: and as it is uſual with lovers, who never have ſo ſtrong an inclination to praiſe the object of their paſſion, as after they have ſaid all the injurious things poſſible of them, Henry fell again upon the good qualities of his miſtreſs, when out of thoſe capricious humours, and when thoſe ſudden guſts of paſſion had ſubſided. He praiſed, with a tranſport of delight, the charms of her converſation, her ſprightly wit, her repartees ſo poignant, yet ſo full of delicacy and ſpirit; and here indeed he had ſome foundation for his praiſes. The queen's temper and manners were ſo different, that the contraſt made him ſtill more ſenſible of thoſe charms in his miſtreſs. "I find nothing of all this at home, ſaid "he to me; I receive neither ſociety, amuſement, "nor content from my wife; her converſation is "unpleaſing, her temper harſh, ſhe never accom-"modates herſelf to my humour, nor ſhares in any "of my cares; when I enter her apartment, and "offer to approach her with tenderneſs, or begin "to talk familiarly with her, ſhe receives me with "ſo cold and forbidding an air, that I quit her in "diſguſt, and am obliged to ſeek conſolation elſe-"where. When my couſin Guiſe is at the Louvre, "I have recourſe to her converſation to baniſh my "uneaſineſs; yet ſhe often tells me plain truths, "but it is with ſo good a grace that I cannot be "offended, and am forced to laugh with her." Such was the diſpoſition of this prince; and probably the queen had only herſelf to blame, that ſhe had not been able to draw him out of the ſnares of her

her rival, or to diſengage him from every other intrigue of gallantry: at leaſt, he appeared to me to be abſolutely ſincere, and to have the beſt intentions imaginable, when he preſſed me, at the concluſion of this diſcourſe, to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon the queen, his wife, to alter her behaviour, and accommodate herſelf more to his humour. 1604.

I was about to anſwer, for this ſubject ſeemed not yet half diſcuſſed, when we were interrupted by meſſieurs De-Vic, de Trigny, de Pilles, de Fortria, and others, who entered that moment, and told his majeſty, that the perſons whom he had ordered to attend him had waited more than an hour, and that it was ſo late it would be impoſſible to do all the buſineſs that morning. The king, after recommending ſecrecy to me, followed them into the hall, and gave the reſt of that day, and the two following, wholly to the affairs that had brought him to the Arſenal. The office of ſurveyor of the highways in Guienne was given, at my ſolicitation, to Biçoſe *, who was then in his ſervice. A commiſſioner was appointed to go and pull down the fort of Craon. Many other new diſpoſitions were made, which I ſhall not mention here.

The king did not fail to take the firſt opportunity to renew the converſation that had been ſo unſeaſonably interrupted: he had a reconciliation with the queen ſo much at heart, that he wrote me billet after billet, enjoining me to undertake the taſk he had propoſed to me. I was ſenſible I run great hazards by obeying him: a too free and too ardent zeal on theſe occaſions with perſons of this rank often expoſes the mediator to the reſentment of one of the parties, and ſometimes to that of both; beſides, to ſpeak candidly, this employment was leſs ſuitable to me than to any other perſon, theſe little broils being extremely diſagreeable to my temper.

* N. de Biçoſe, or Viſſouſe; he was ſecretary of the finances.

I there-

1604. I therefore reſolved to omit no perſuaſions which I thought capable to make Henry himſelf take the only reaſonable meaſures that were left him. I brought arguments, exhortations, examples, to prove that it depended upon himſelf to regain his quiet, and fix it upon ſolid foundations; and all that was neceſſary for this purpoſe, was to exert the maſter and the king, oblige the queen to keep her ill humours to herſelf and forbear her reproaches, and, above all, her complaints in public, which produced nothing but indecent reflections: and as to thoſe who by their malicious informations embittered the mind of this princeſs, to puniſh them ſeverely for the ſlighteſt word they dared to utter againſt him. I repreſented to this prince, that to ſecure his own peace and the happineſs of his life, required only that he ſhould exert a very ſmall part of that courage and ſtrength of mind he had ſhewn on occaſions of a very different nature; that his reputation ſuffered from that tender fault in his conſtitution, almoſt incomprehenſible in ſo great a prince. I told him, that a ſovereign, without incurring the imputation of tyranny, and by the ſole privilege of his high office, might exact from his ſubjects and family, as well for his own perſon, as his ſtate, that obedience ſo neceſſary to preſerve a juſt ſubordination and ſecure reſpect: and that it was abſolutely fit and juſt, that he ſhould chaſtiſe ſuch perſons who made it their buſineſs to deſtroy his domeſtic quiet. To theſe arguments I added the ſtrongeſt entreaties; I conjured Henry with lifted hands, and eyes ſwimming in tears, to employ his authority on this occaſion: the condition I ſaw him in filled me with the deepeſt concern.

It is certain that this prince had no other part left him to take; and I could never comprehend why he appeared ſo ſtrongly averſe to it. He remembered the advice I had given him at Blois, which being ſo different from that I preſſed him now to follow, gave him a kind of advantage over me: he ſeemed to

to be pleaſed with having an opportunity to tell me, 1604.
that I perhaps was the true cauſe of all that had
ſince happened. But there was nothing ſolid in this objection, if well examined; and when I diſſuaded his majeſty from having recourſe to meaſures which might have produced dangerous conſequences (this I cannot ſpeak more clearly without betraying the ſecret I then vowed to keep) I had no intention to exclude him from taking ſuch gentle and eaſy methods as would be juſtifiable in the father of a family to ſecure the tranquillity of his houſe. And Henry was reduced to the neceſſity of owning, that if I were well acquainted with his diſpoſition, I would be convinced it was abſolutely out of his power to act with rigour towards perſons with whom he was accuſtomed to live in familiarity, and above all to his wife.

I had nothing left but to tell him, that then he muſt baniſh his miſtreſs, and give his wife all the ſatisfaction ſhe could require. But he prevented me, by ſaying, that he was ready, if it muſt be ſo, to remove all cauſe of complaint from the queen, provided he could be aſſured, that after making her ſo great a ſacrifice, he ſhould find her ſuch as he wiſhed: but that he foreſaw he ſhould be plagued all the remainder of his life, becauſe this princeſs was weak and obſtinate enough to believe, that by acting in the manner ſhe did, ſhe followed the dictates of reaſon; when, in effect, ſhe was only governed by her paſſions. Henry, to convince me of the juſtneſs of this fear, entered into a long enumeration of the queen's faults, in which he but repeated to me what he had ſaid before, upon the delight ſhe took in contradicting and teazing him; he only added, that ſhe had diſcovered the moſt violent hatred to all his natural children, although born before ſhe came into France, which it was not probable ſhe would ever remit; he dwelt upon the little ſenſibility ſhe had ſhewn to his tenderneſs and regard for her, or gratitude for the extreme attention with which

1604. which he prevented all the occaſions ſhe might have for money, although he was not ignorant that ſhe never received any but to ſquander upon Leonora and her huſband, and ſome others, who were continually filling her ears with malicious ſtories, and giving her bad advice: he took me to witneſs, that never queen of France had received ſo many and ſuch conſiderable grants; and it is certain, that I had been the firſt to favour and ſolicit for them by my wife, and this I did with a view to peace, which is often purchaſed by theſe means, and always by the king's orders. By the rage this prince expreſſed againſt Conchini and his wife, whom he conſidered as the creatures of Spain, and ſpies of the duke of Florence, no one, doubtleſs, would have choſen to be in the place of theſe two Italians; but this rage had no other conſequences than making him condemn himſelf for not following the advice I was free enough to give him when the queen came into France, which was, to forbid all her Italian attendants to paſs the Alps with her.

This long converſation concluded with the ſame requeſt as the preceding one had done, that I ſhould attempt, by the gentleſt methods I could think of, to perſuade the queen to more condeſcenſion to her huſband's will, without giving her cauſe to ſuſpect that I acted by his orders. Henry uſed every argument which he thought likely to have any force with me to engage me to undertake this taſk, telling me he did not doubt my ſucceſs, having, on an occaſion ſimilar to this, prevailed upon the queen to write a letter to him, when no one elſe could.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XVIII.

AT the very time that the king gave me this commiſſion to the queen, chance offered me a very favourable opportunity to execute it. The moſt common method of making grants to this princeſs, was either to create edicts in her favour, as thoſe which I have juſt mentioned, or by granting to her the money paid upon contracts and bargains which ſucceeded through her intereſt and protection. Theſe edicts and contracts always paſſed through my hands before they took effect; and it was my buſineſs to name, examine, and authoriſe the perſons concerned. 1604.

The queen was offered four and twenty thouſand livres to procure the grant of an edict concerning the officers of the exciſe in Languedoc. She ſent d'Argouges * to ſhew me the edict, and acquaint me with the propoſal. I told d'Argouges, that his majeſty might indeed, without doing the public any injuſtice, grant the favour the queen required, but that I did not think ſhe took a good opportunity to obtain it; the king appearing to me ſo diſ-

* Florent d'Argouges, treaſurer of the queen's houſhold: his ſon was firſt preſident of the parliament of Brittany, and at the time of his death, a counſellor of ſtate, and of the privy council.

contented

1604. contented with ſome late proceedings of this princeſs, that I was afraid he would not have this complaiſance for her, unleſs ſhe firſt endeavoured to remove his diſpleaſure; and I took the liberty to offer her my advice and ſervices on this occaſion, if ſhe thought I could be of any uſe to her. The queen, tempted by a ſum ſo conſiderable, accepted my offer, and promiſed every thing, believing that, by writing a ſubmiſſive letter to the king, as ſhe had done before, ſhe ſhould certainly ſucceed: accordingly ſhe wrote a letter, and ſent for me to ſhew it me, appearing willing to alter whatever I judged improper in it.

Never had any ſtep ſhe had taken coſt her ſo much. She had ſo great an averſion for the marchioneſs of Verneuil, that ſhe would hardly deign to pronounce her name: but if any circumſtance occurred to introduce the mention of her, her geſtures, her emotions, her very ſilence itſelf, expreſſed, in the moſt lively manner, what ſhe would not ſay. As it was abſolutely neceſſary to accuſtom her to hear her rival ſpoken of, I put her upon this ſubject without reſerve; and then ſhe conſoled herſelf with giving the marchioneſs the moſt ſevere epithets her imagination could furniſh her with; ſhe ſaid ſhe never could reſolve to look favourably upon a woman who had dared to bring herſelf in compariſon with her, and inculcated the ſame inſolence and want of reſpect for her in her children, who embroiled the ſtate by countenancing the malecontents, while the king, blinded by his paſſion, took no care to reſtrain her.

I began by ſympathiſing with her in her griefs; but, ſhewing her how much the cauſe of them was increaſed by her behaviour to the king, I made her ſo fully ſenſible of her fault, that ſhe wrote another letter in the terms I dictated to her, and ſent it to the king, who had left her at Fontainebleau, and was then at Paris. While he was under the impreſſion of the joy this letter gave him, he returned her

her an anſwer ſo tender and polite, as it might naturally be expected would produce one from the queen in the ſame ſtrain: but unfortunately, juſt before this letter was delivered to her, her emiſſaries had informed her, that the king was gone as uſual to the marchioneſs de Verneuil, and inſinuated that he was diverting himſelf with his miſtreſs at her credulity. She now forgot all that ſhe had promiſed, ſaid the king had deceived her; and, inſtead of writing, told the meſſenger who brought her his majeſty's letter, with a cold and contemptuous air, that ſhe need not write, ſince ſhe expected to ſee the king the next day, as he had promiſed her. The king was piqued, as it was natural he ſhould be, at this behaviour, and could not be ſilent: thoſe that heard what he ſaid in the firſt emotions of his anger, were not perſons who he could expect would be ſecret as I was, to whom he wrote directly. All that was ſaid on both ſides was reported to each of them, and matters were now in a worſe ſtate than before. 1604.

I was now engaged in a new affair, that of ſettling the debate; but at moſt I could expect only an interval of peace, which would continue no longer than others had done, while his majeſty could not prevail upon himſelf to take the only effectual methods that remained. Theſe propoſals I again made him, when he ſent La-Varenne for me one day, to find, if poſſible, ſome remedy for his continual diſquiets, which became every day more inſupportable. I found him in the Orangerie of the Tuilleries, which a ſhower of rain had obliged him to enter; and as he was repeatedly preſſing me to tell him what he ſhould do, and, upon my refuſal, abſolutely commanded me to give him my advice, "Then "oblige four or five perſons, ſaid I to him, to paſs "the ſea, and as many others the Alps." The king anſwered, that half of my counſel he could follow without any difficulty, ſince nothing hindered him from exerciſing ſome ſeverity upon thoſe ſedi-

1604. tious perſons who were conſpiring againſt him in his court, but that it was not the ſame with the Italians; becauſe that he not only had every thing to apprehend from that vindictive people, but likewiſe by removing her favourites, he ſhould give ſuch offence to the queen, as would render her for ever implacable. The king, after reflecting a little upon the propoſal I had made him, fell upon a very ſingular expedient, which was, to get this princeſs herſelf to conſent to what I had adviſed. He ſtopped there, as if the thing had really been poſſible, and inſiſted upon my uſing all my endeavours to work this miracle, promiſing me, that if I ſucceeded, he would, from that moment, renounce all his gallantries. After the king had given me this new commiſſion, he left me, as he ſaid, to meditate upon it, and continued his walk alone in the garden, the rain having ceaſed during our converſation.

I did not begin with the queen, by aſking immediately a ſacrifice which I ſaw ſhe was not diſpoſed to make; I believed that if ever a favourable opportunity offered to prevail upon her, it would be when there was a perfect agreement between their majeſties; and this I laboured with ſo much aſſiduity to produce, that at length I reconciled them more thoroughly than they had ever been before; they agreed to forget all the paſt, and for the future to be deaf to all malicious informers. This calm laſted three weeks, and during that time the court was full of joy, and different amuſements were thought of every day: but ſome new ſtratagems of the marchioneſs de Verneuil's having produced their ordinary effect, theſe good reſolutions vaniſhed again, and it became neceſſary, as a laſt reſource, to attempt the expedient propoſed by the king.

It may eaſily be imagined, in what manner the queen received a propoſal to ſend away, in ſome ſort diſgracefully, thoſe perſons of her houſhold whom ſhe loved the moſt. I expected ſhe would refuſe

refuſe me, and I had no hopes but from my obſtinacy in returning often to the charge: but this princeſs continued inflexible; and, to ſay the truth, Henry, on his ſide, ſo ill performed the promiſe he had given me, to reward this ſacrifice by that of renouncing all other attachments but to his wife, that ſhe drew from thence her beſt arguments for not yielding to mine. 1604.

What I had foreſeen, really happened; the queen, inſtigated by thoſe whom I directly attacked, began to ſeek a quarrel even with me, and complained that I had not kept my word with her, as if it had been in my power to ſeparate Henry from his miſtreſs. But I did not fail to obſerve to her, that ſhe performed her promiſe no better; and by that appearance of coldneſs and diſlike, which, after ſo many relapſes, the king looked upon as inſurmountable, ſhe was herſelf the cauſe of that evil ſhe imputed to me. I propoſed Madam de Guiſe to her as an example ſhe ſhould follow, if ſhe ever hoped to fix the king's affection ſolely upon herſelf. She afterwards complained publicly, that I did not pay all the reſpect I ought to have done to her letters: this I was acquainted with by the wife of Conchini, who was leſs unreaſonable and imprudent, than any other of her favourites, by whom ſhe was abſolutely governed. To this complaint I anſwered, that it was indeed true I did not always pay regard to letters which I ſaw written by the hand of any of her ſecretaries, becauſe they were either dictated without her knowledge, by unjuſt ſolicitors who abuſed her name, or written with a view to draw her reſentment upon me if I refuſed to comply with them; but as for thoſe written with her own hand, I defied any one to accuſe me with having neglected to anſwer them with the utmoſt deference and reſpect.

To ſay the truth, it was abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould continually call to remembrance, as I did, the duty I owed to the wife of my king, that I might not be carried by her unreaſonable importunities

1604. to any failure of reſpect or obedience; for indeed there was no end of her demands: the expences of her houſhold alone coſt the king every year three hundred and forty-five thouſand livres; all the gratuities, contracts, and edicts, that were made in her favour, were not ſufficient to ſupply her other expences: ſhe one day, in a fit of ill humour, pawned her rings and jewels, or rather thoſe that belonged to the queens of France, and there was a neceſſity for drawing money from the exchequer to redeem them; the edict of exempts was paſſed in every pariſh for her advantage; ſome receivers of Rouerque and Quercy being behind-hand in their payments, the money was applied to her uſes; ſhe took upon herſelf to pay the nuptial expences of Santi, her Italian gardener, and aſked me for ſix hundred livres for that purpoſe: this was indeed but a trifling ſum, but by ſuch trifles as theſe one may judge of this princeſs's diſpoſition with regard to œconomy. What could I do in this perplexing ſituation, ſince the inconvenience was equal whether I granted all, or refuſed all, but to refuſe whatever was really an encroachment upon juſtice, and a detriment to the public good, and in ſuch demands as muſt indiſpenſably be granted, and eſpecially edicts, to prevent any oppreſſion in levying the money? As to their majeſties perſonal quarrels, it muſt be confeſſed, that in the king's conduct there were unaccountable weakneſſes, and in the queen's inexcuſable irregularities.

From the little ſucceſs I had met with ever ſince I had firſt interpoſed in theſe domeſtic debates, I at length was fully convinced, that in theſe affairs ſuch only as were intereſted ſhould undertake to mediate between the parties: I therefore quietly ſlipped my neck out of the collar, and willingly left the field open to Sillery, whom the king likewiſe made uſe of on this occaſion. He ſometimes found that Sillery managed the two ladies better than I, which I had no difficulty to believe: this employment required

quired complaiſance and diſſimulation; I could neither flatter the ſentiments of others, nor diſguiſe my own; and without this there was nothing to hope for, and every thing to fear: and there the reſentment of a wife and a miſtreſs both was to be dreaded, which made the danger ſo much the greater. By what has been related, my firſt obſervation has been fully made out; and the ſecond, I may ſay, was no leſs verified by the event, ſince, if I had not been extremely cautious, I ſhould have certainly been the victim of the lover and the miſtreſs, and upon the following occaſion. 1604.

At the time when the miſunderſtanding between Henry and the marchioneſs of Verneuil increaſed every day, I was deſired by the king to make her very ſevere reproaches in his name. Inſtead of relenting, or confeſſing her fault, ſhe aſſumed ſo haughty an air, and anſwered with ſo little reſpect, that this once I began to hope the affair would not end but in an open rupture, which was what I moſt ardently wiſhed for. She not only refuſed to give his majeſty the ſatisfaction he demanded of her, but appeared ſo fully determined to break off all commerce with the king, that ſhe even went ſo far, as to ſolicit me in the moſt earneſt manner imaginable, to prevail upon the king to conſent to this reſolution, as being equally neceſſary to the future happineſs of them both; and deſired, that as ſoon as I went home I would write a letter to the king, which had been concerted between us, in which ſhe expreſſed herſelf in terms ſtrong enough to make me conclude ſhe acted ſincerely. However, the knowledge I had of this woman's character was ſufficient to give me apprehenſions that ſhe would diſavow all that I ſhould write to the king, and pretend that I had endeavoured, by underhand practices, to widen the breach between her and this prince: a conduct which, indulgent as he was, he would have never been able to pardon; for in affairs of love he carried his ſenſibility and deli-

1604. cacy very far. I therefore took the precaution to ſend this letter to the marchioneſs, before it was given to the king, and at the ſame time deſired ſhe would read and examine it with attention, that ſhe might be convinced I had ſaid nothing more in this letter (which was very long) than ſhe had dictated to me; and intreated her to let me know, whether I had not ſcrupulouſly obſerved the purport of her words. I recommended it in a particular manner to the bearer, to bring me back no verbal meſſage, but to oblige this lady to write what ſhe thought neceſſary to be altered in the letter, and all that ſhe would have me add to it.

She had already relaxed much from the ſeverity of her firſt reſolution; my meſſenger perceived it, by her cavilling at the terms, and appearing diſſatisfied, though ſhe did not give the leaſt hint that the letter ſhould be ſuppreſſed. My ſervant finding that ſhe returned the letter, after all this vague declamation, without any poſitive anſwer, remembered the orders I had given him, and told her, that having a very indifferent memory, he entreated that ſhe would write down what ſhe had juſt ſaid to him, that he might not incur any blame from his maſter for his having forgot, or imperfectly reported, any of her words. She underſtood his meaning, but had gone too far to recede; ſhe therefore took the pen, and wrote to me, that ſhe approved of the whole letter, except one expreſſion, which was ſufficient, ſhe ſaid, to put the king into a violent paſſion. I had told the king in this letter, that the marchioneſs entreated him ſtill to allow her the honour of ſeeing him ſometimes, but to have no *private correſpondence* with her; the laſt words ſhe ſoftened by adding, "*that might be prejudicial to him*," which made no great difference.

I carefully depoſited the marchioneſs's letter, and ſent mine to the king, not without having ſome hopes, that pride, and affronted love, if not reaſon, would prevail upon him to concur in the reſolution his miſtreſs

miſtreſs had taken, and that he would at length ceaſe to be the ſlave of a woman. In effect, he read my letter twice over with all the indignation and rage which might naturally be expected. "How! "ſaid he, does ſhe deſire our correſpondence may "be broke off? I deſire it more ardently than ſhe "does; ſhe ſhall be taken in her own ſnares." The king uttered theſe words in a low voice, but my meſſenger heard them. He aſked for paper and pens, and wrote a billet to me that inſtant, in which he promiſed, that on the Monday following the marchioneſs of Verneuil ſhould receive a letter from his hand, which ſhould prove that he ſtill knew how to command his paſſions. 1604.

This billet of the king's was dated the 16th of April, but that of Monday never came; but on his arrival at Paris, he flew immediately to his miſtreſs's houſe, flattering himſelf that he ſhould at leaſt overwhelm her with confuſion, and force from her a thouſand painful regrets. Far from it; it was himſelf that played this part; he diſavowed all that his agents had done, he condemned himſelf; in a word, he threw himſelf upon the mercy of her who had juſt treated him with the utmoſt contempt. Then it was that I thought myſelf happy to be poſſeſſed of a letter from the marchioneſs that could reſtrain his reſentment againſt me. She however imagined, that this letter could not hinder me from appearing, through her repreſentations, as an incendiary and ſlanderer. I would not take upon me to anſwer for Henry's good opinion of me that moment; the letter I ſhewed him when he came to the arſenal undeceived him, but it could not open his eyes upon the arts of his unworthy miſtreſs; he told me at parting, that he would chide her ſeverely. I did not believe him; and indeed how could I after what had juſt happened?

After the reconciliation between the king and the queen, which was made, as has been ſeen, at the expence of the marchioneſs of Verneuil; this woman,

1604. who for the firſt time thought herſelf really abandoned, undertook to ruin this peace, and unhappily but too well accompliſhed her purpoſe. It is wonderful to think how many ſprings ſhe put in motion to awaken the king's love for her, and excite his jealouſy; even religion was profaned to ſerve her purpoſe; ſhe would be a nun, and devote herſelf to perpetual confinement; ſhe openly joined the party of the malecontents; ſhe ſought out all the young women to whom Henry had diſcovered any attachment, and prevailed upon them to forge ſuch promiſes of marriage as that he had given to her; ſhe made ſo inſolent a uſe of that, as to pretend to derive from it a chimerical right to get the queen's marriage annulled; and, what is hardly to be credited, found eccleſiaſtics who countenanced her in theſe extravagancies, and who were hardy enough to publiſh the banns of marriage which ſhe boaſted ſhe would oblige the king to contract with her. At the ſame time a great number of letters and memoirs were diſtributed among the public, in which the ridiculous pretenſions of this woman were ſupported *. Henry would have given any reward for a diſcovery of the authors of theſe writings, his whole court were employed to find them out, and myſelf among the reſt.

I ſhould never come to an end if I undertook to relate all the circumſtances of this affair, which, trifling as the greater part of them are, brought a good deal of trouble upon ſome that had a ſhare in it: but I am weary of diſplaying thoſe little weakneſſes in a prince, who, on other occaſions, has afforded me ſo many opportunities of admiring the heroic firmneſs of his mind. This ſtorm, which was occaſioned by a mere love quarrel, ended, as uſual

* See the cardinal D'Oſſat's complaints on this occaſion againſt the courts of Spain and Savoy, and in particular againſt a capuchin, called father Hillary, of Grenoble, who carried on a cabal at Rome in favour of the marchioneſs de Verneuil's party. Letters of the 22d February and 15th October, 1601, and of the 1ſt of April, 1602. The liberty of publiſhing ſatirical libels was never ſo great as at that time.

with

with Henry, in an increaſe of tenderneſs for his unworthy miſtreſs, which carried the miſunderſtanding between him and the queen to greater heights than ever *. It was fixed, that by a moſt unaccountable contradiction in the nature of things, this prince ſhould, throughout his whole life, ſeek his pleaſures and gratifications at the expence of his quiet and his health. Theſe two motives made me ſtill intereſt myſelf in theſe unpleaſing affairs; for I could not, without the moſt ſenſible affliction, ſee the health of a prince ſo dear to me declining every day. He had not indeed any illneſs this year that immediately threatened his life, but he never gave ſo much employment to the phyſicians, La Rivierie and Du-Laurens; he was obliged to uſe bleeding often, and obſerve a ſtrict regimen, to prevent the bad effects of a blood heavy and inflamed, which brought frequent indiſpoſitions upon him: rage, grief, and impatience, threw him into ſuch an agitation, that one day, being violently offended at ſome late proceeding of the marchioneſs de Verneuil, the arm in which he had been bled the evening before, opened again, as he was ſitting down to dinner. The queen accompanied him this year in his journey to Monceaux, whither he went to drink the waters of Pougues and Spa †, with the greater conveniency. 1604.

Nothing would have been wanting to complete the unhappineſs of theſe domeſtic quarrels, if queen Margaret had borne a part in them: this was the only misfortune that Henry eſcaped; and certainly this princeſs merited the higheſt encomiums for the ſweetneſs of her temper, her reſignation, and, above

* "The duke of Sully has often told me (ſays the author of L'Hiſtoire de la Mere et du Fils) that he never knew them a week together without quarrelling. He alſo told me, that once the queen was ſo far tranſported with paſſion, that being near the king, and haſtily lifting up her arm, he was ſo apprehenſive ſhe was going to do ſomething further, that he caught hold of her with leſs reſpect than he wiſhed to have done, and ſo roughly, that ſhe afterwards complained he had ſtruck her," &c. Vol. I. p. 8.

† The Spa-waters are in the biſhopric of Liege.

all,

1604. all, for her diſintereſtedneſs, in a ſituation that afforded her many arguments to urge a compliance with all ſhe could deſire; her demands were few, and for things not only neceſſary in themſelves, but ſuch as ſhe had an inconteſtable right to, the fulfilling ſuch engagements as had been made with her, and ſome exemptions for her borough of Uſſon; her chief ſolicitation was on account of ſucceeding to the poſſeſſions of her mother queen Catherine: that princeſs, by her contract of marriage with Henry II. was entitled to leave her effects, after the death of her ſons, to her daughters, preferable to the natural children of her huſband. Although this diſpoſition was abſolutely equitable, yet Charles of Valois, count of Auvergne*, pretended a claim, to the prejudice of Margaret. She had not the principal writings that proved the legality of hers: but the king interpoſed his authority to make it be given her, and that ſhe ſhould obtain the juſtice that was due to her. Margaret, during her whole life, maintained the ſame rectitude of conduct; and from her behaviour it could never be diſcovered that ſhe had once been the wife of the king. I ſhould not confine my praiſes to what I have already ſaid of her, were I not apprehenſive of being accuſed of partiality; ſince the intereſt which this princeſs had always the goodneſs to take in my fortune is well known; her letters to me were ſuch as one would write to a ſincere and unalterable friend; "You are always (thus ſhe expreſſes herſelf in one of

* By virtue of a deed of gift, which Henry III. had made to him of theſe eſtates. In 1606 the parliament confirmed the will of Catherine of Medicis, and adjudged theſe eſtates to Margaret of Valois. Brantome, in vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 38, gives an enumeration of theſe eſtates, conſiſting of the earldoms of Auvergne, Lauragais, Leverous, Douzenac, Chouſſac, Gorreges, Hondocourt, &c. the yearly revenue of which, according to his account, amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand livres; beſides that princeſs's portion of more than two hundred thouſand crowns or ducats, "which, "ſays he, would be worth now "more than four hundred thou-"ſand;" together with a great quantity of furniture, plate, precious ſtones, jewels, &c.

"them)

" them) my reſource, and, after God, my ſureſt 1604.
" reliance."

But let us now paſs to other cares and uneaſineſſes that the king ſuffered this year from a traiterous cabal, in which the marchioneſs de Verneuil will again have a place. Without repeating inceſſantly the names of the dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, and de Rohan, the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, his wife, Du-Pleſſis, and the reſt, it may be eaſily imagined that theſe are the perſons I mean. The ſame ſpirit of ſedition, by which they had acted in the intrigues they had ſet on foot with the proteſtant party in the ſynod of Gap, ſtill directed their enterpriſes, and ſuggeſted to them innumerable ſtratagems, either to raiſe an inſurrection among the king's ſubjects, or make him new enemies abroad. It is ſcarce credible how many ſlanderous lies were propagated of his majeſty, how far they extended their influence, and how many plots were formed againſt the government by the authority of theſe leaders.

The king, when he ſent me to Paris, by d'Eſcures, ſome advices he had juſt received at Saint-Germain-en-laye, began in this manner: That although I had not already too favourable an opinion of this whole body, yet I ſhould with difficulty believe what he had to write to me concerning it. Indeed I am obliged to confeſs, that the proceedings of the French proteſtants were ſuch, as left them no reaſon to complain of any one but themſelves, if they one day met with a ſevere puniſhment for them. They boaſted almoſt openly, that they would oblige his majeſty, not only to receive the duke of Bouillon in his kingdom, but alſo to inveſt him with honours and offices worthy of a chief of the religion. Du-Pleſſis, the ſoul that animated this body, ſuggeſted only ſuch thoughts; La-Tremouille had prepared his creatures for undertaking all things, by perſuading them, that they would very ſhortly behold a ſurpriſing revolution in France; the duke of Rohan,

1604. Rohan, in the mean time, took upon himſelf to ſpread this report in foreign countries, and in England eſpecially, by a truſty emiſſary named Durand, who uſed his utmoſt endeavours to draw off his Britannic majeſty from Henry's party. This man, who at London aſſumed the title of M. de Haute-Fontaine, ſhewed himſelf ſo faithful and officious a ſervant, that the king, as well as every one elſe, was perſuaded that he had exceeded his commiſſion; for it was affirmed, that he had treated on conditions for the eſtabliſhment of his maſter in England, where he wanted to get him naturalized: if this deſign was not Durand's alone, it could only be ſuggeſted by the ducheſs dowager of Rohan. It is alſo certain, that the duke of Rohan ordered Durand to preſent the king of England, in his name, with a horſe of great price, which, in the preſent conjuncture, it was not juſtifiable for him to do, without Henry's conſent.

But it was more neceſſary to enter into a ſtrict examination of the count of Auvergne's conduct, than any of the others; few perſons were ignorant of his connexion with Spain. He was then in Auvergne, where he was not idle, either with reſpect to the common cauſe, or his own particular one; he had made uſe of the promiſe of marriage, given by Henry to * the marchioneſs de Verneuil his ſiſter, to

* The hiſtorians give no clear account of the purport of the treaty entered into by the count of Auvergne with the Spaniſh council; but Amelot de La Houſſaye will help us out on this occaſion; and he is the more worthy of credit, as he aſſures us, that the count of Auvergne, and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, entruſted the original of this treaty to his grandfather on the mother's ſide, their near relation and intimate friend, called Antony-Eugene Chevillard, paymaſter-general of the gendarmery of France. He further informs us, that Chevillard, being involved in the diſgrace of the count of Auvergne, and ſent to the Baſtile, he kept the original of the treaty ſo well concealed in the ſkirt of his doublet, that no one diſcovered it; and, finding himſelf treated as a ſtate criminal, he, by degrees, eat both the treaty, and the ratification of it by the court of Spain annexed to it, up in the ſoups, and other victuals, which were brought to his table. The king of Spain thereby promiſed to aſſiſt the count of Auvergne with troops and money, to place his nephew Henry of Bourbon on the throne, who was the ſon of Henry IV. by the marchioneſs of

ſerve

ſerve his deſigns, and joined to it, a claim of his own yet more ridiculous than this writing: but in Spain he found perſons credulous enough to conſider them both in a ſerious light: it is certain, that he had acquired great credit and ſtrong influence there; we ſhall ſoon ſee to what it conducted him. 1604.

The methods his majeſty made uſe of to render all theſe intrigues ineffectual, were to apply himſelf with his accuſtomed attention and aſſiduity to the affairs both within and without his kingdom, and to fill the intendances and other public offices with ſuch men only as were diſtinguiſhed for their merit, their probity, and zeal for his ſervice. Boucault was an example of this, who, from an advocate only, was made preſident of the court of aids in Montpelier, in reward for having uſefully ſerved his majeſty in Languedoc. Henry likewiſe commanded me to aſſemble the chancellor, Villeroi, and Sillery, who with me compoſed a kind of council, to conſider of this matter. By his orders, I ſtill kept up a correſpondence by letters with the principal proteſtants, which I own was of little ſervice to his majeſty: his chief dependance, and with reaſon, was upon the journey he propoſed to make this year to Provence and Languedoc, while I on my ſide was to viſit Poitou, and the weſtern part of France.

I greatly approved of this deſign when Henry communicated it to me; and we employed ourſelves together a long time in making preparations for theſe two journeys; the neceſſity for going to take

Verneuil, and who, in that writing, is ſtyled dauphin of France, and lawful heir to the crown. Art. Entragues-Balſac, Touchet. Amelot de la Houſſaye further aſſures us, in the note on the cardinal D'Oſſat's letters above-mentioned, that two capuchins, called father Hillary of Grenoble, and father Archangelo, the one at Paris, and the other at Rome, had the guidance of this conſpiracy.

M. de Sully ſeems to inſinuate, as if ſomething further had been intended in favour of the count of Auvergne himſelf: perhaps he had ſome deſign of ſetting up ſome writing or diſpoſition of his father Charles IX, by virtue whereof he might pretend to claim the crown in his own right. See alſo, on this ſubject, the Memoirs of the life of the preſident De Thou, and in particular his Hiſtory, anno 1605. Vitt. Siri's Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 297.

poſſeſſion

1604. poſſeſſion of my government ſerved me for a pretence for mine; the king wanted no excuſe for his: on the contrary, it was fit he ſhould not appear ignorant of the occaſion that made his preſence neceſſary in the ſouthern provinces of his kingdom, and openly avow his expectations of the good effects it would produce. On ſome pretence or other, I was to viſit, either in my rout, or by going a little about, Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Guienne; and his majeſty was likewiſe to take Berry, Bourbonnois, Lyonnois, and Dauphiné, in his way *, ſo that between us we were to go through almoſt all France. We ſettled the time of our departure, our ſtay, and even the place of our meeting, which was to be at Toulouſe; and I looked upon his majeſty's journey to be ſo certain, that I thought of nothing but of coming immediately to Paris (for all this was reſolved on at Fontainebleau) to ſettle the affairs of the government, that our journey might not ſuffer any delay, it being reſolved that we ſhould ſet out ſome time in the preſent month of June at fartheſt. Such perſons as had buſineſs depending in the king's council, preſſed the concluſion of it with the utmoſt aſſiduity, as ſoon as the king's intention was made public; and the counſellors rejoiced at this eagerneſs, becauſe, that great part of them being to attend the king in his journey, they did not chuſe to leave the buſineſs they had begun, to be finiſhed by the new council, appointed by his majeſty during his abſence!

This ſcheme, ſo well concerted, was never carried into execution, with reſpect to the king's part in it. As ſoon as his majeſty's intended journey was declared to the courtiers, all was preſently in an uproar; and it cauſed, as uſual, much commotion at court. There was not one to whom this deſign

* See the original of a letter written by Henry IV. to M. de Roſny, on the ſubject of this journey to Poitou, dated the 20th of July 1604, with an indorſement thereon, as moſt of his letters have, in the hand-writing of this miniſter. Henry IVth's letters.

did

did not give great uneaſineſs, and who did not uſe his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade him from it; ſome, ſuch as the miniſters and great officers that were about his perſon, to ſpare the expences of ſo tedious a journey, and the gay delicate youth of the court to avoid the fatigue and other inconveniencies uſual in ſuch expeditions; ſo that, when his majeſty propoſed the affair in form to his counſellors of ſtate, whom he ſent for expreſsly to Fontainebleau, and the principal lords of his court, aſſembled for that purpoſe, they oppoſed it with innumerable obſtacles, without ever reaching the true one. 1604.

They alledged the uncertainty of the ſieges of Oſtend and Sluys; the fear of a league between England and Spain; the treaty of commerce depending between France and that crown; the affair of the count d'Auvergne and the marchioneſs de Verneuil; the miſunderſtanding that had riſen lately between the republic of Griſons, and the count de Fuentes, concerning the Valtoline, in which France was indiſpenſably obliged to intereſt herſelf, on account of the Venetians and the Swiſs. All thoſe affairs I have already mentioned, or ſhall do immediately: in a word, they found ſo many inconveniencies like to accrue from this journey, and knew ſo well how to aggravate them, that the king was prevailed upon to alter his reſolution.

They even ſuggeſted reaſons to his majeſty, to make him change his opinion as to the neceſſity of mine. The affairs that then lay before the council began to appear to him of ſuch importance, that, to prevent loſing ſight of them for ſo long a time, he, for this once, deſired me to confine my endeavours to what I could do, without going farther than Poitou, and remit, to another opportunity, my deſign of viſiting the maritime coaſts. I do not pretend to deny, that part of the arguments they made uſe of, to diſſuade the king from his journey, had ſome weight: however, I believe I have mentioned the moſt important of them; and I ſtill perſiſted

1604. ſiſted in my firſt opinion, of the great advantage it would be to the ſtate.

One man, whom the news of his majeſty's intended journey did not a little perplex, and whoſe name probably the reader will not expect to find here, was Leſdiguieres; and a report being then current, that the count of Soiſſons was ſhortly to be put in poſſeſſion of thoſe cautionary places given to Leſdiguieres, it was natural for him to believe that he was perſonally concerned in the reſolution his majeſty had taken. His correſpondence with the duke of Bouillon was juſt come to light; Morges, who had given ſecret advice of it from Dauphiné, brought proofs of it when he came to Paris, which were confirmed by Du-bourg.

I ſet out from Paris in the month of June, and took the ſhorteſt road to Poitou, accompanied by ſeveral perſons of quality of that province, who, upon the report of my journey, ranged themſelves about me, ſome of them with no other intention, but to pay me thoſe honours which they thought due to their governor: but others, among whom, I may, without ſcruple, put * Richelieu and Pontcourlai, attended me in my expedition with no other view, but to get more certain intelligence of my deſigns, either from my own mouth, or by tampering with my people, to learn all that ſhould be done or ſaid in my family, that they might afterwards give the chiefs of the proteſtant party notice of all, and prepare them to oppoſe ſuch meaſures, as they imagined I might be ordered to take againſt them in favour of the catholics; in a word, to take advantage of every little inadvertence, if it ſhould happen that any did eſcape me, to render me criminal, or raiſe ſuſpicions in the king's mind to my prejudice. But in this, my enemies did not ſucceed, however they might in ſome other of

* Francis Du-Pleſſis de Richelieu, father of cardinal de Richelieu, and Francis de Vignerod de Pont-courlai.

their

their deſigns; the correſpondence his majeſty did me the honour to keep regularly with me, when I was at any diſtance from him, ſtill continued as uſual; and I had even more frequent opportunities of entering into his confidence, and knowing to what degree he intereſted himſelf in the ſafety of my perſon. He often, with great goodneſs, bid me remember, that I was in a country where, whatever appearance the inhabitants might aſſume, it was certain they wiſhed me no good, and that I ought to be continually on my guard againſt them. 1604.

It was but too true, that the king's enemies and mine, had taken meaſures before hand to render all my endeavours fruitleſs, and to animate the populace againſt me: that which appeared moſt likely to produce this effect, was to ſpread a report, that the deſign which brought me to Poitou, was to force the proprietors * of the ſalt-pits to yield up their property, and to purchaſe them for the king. Thoſe in whom I diſcovered the greateſt malevolence towards me, were ſuch from whom it was leaſt to be expected, my brethren the proteſtants: but I mean the principal ones only; yet theſe affected to pay me outwardly all imaginable honours; and, although they refuſed to let me into the ſecret of their debates, yet it was always upon ſuch plauſible pretences, that I had room to feign myſelf entirely ſatisfied. They were apprehenſive of Parabere, who was more particularly attached to me than any of the others, though they well knew his ardent zeal for his religion, becauſe he was naturally frank and open in his temper, and had intentions far more equitable: they therefore commiſſioned d'Aubigne and Conſtant to watch him narrowly, and never to quit him

* Pereſixe makes no doubt, but Henry IV. really had formed this deſign, and greatly commends him for it, as being the only certain method to free his people from the gabelle or ſalt duty, which, he aſſerts, this prince was fully determined to aboliſh, as well as the taille. p. 369.

1604. while he continued about me. But this malignancy, with reſpect to me, extended no farther than to a ſmall number of perſons; or if it did, they concealed it with great care. I was received with the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of reſpect in every place where I made any ſtay; and in thoſe that I only paſſed through, they came to meet me, harangued me, and eſcorted me with ceremony on my way. The eccleſiaſtics ſeemed moſt eager to ſhew me reſpect; and I never heard the leaſt expreſſion that ſuggeſted a doubt of my religion: the inhabitants of Poitiers, who have the reputation of being naturally rude and unſociable, gave me, by their polite and reſpectful behaviour, a very different notion of their character.

I was ſtill more ſurpriſed at the conduct of the Rochellers: this imperious city, that uſually makes it her boaſt to have only the king himſelf for governor, and under him that haughty and important mayor, who is generally elected out of three perſons propoſed by them to his majeſty, might have laid great ſtreſs upon thoſe mighty prerogative with ſo much the more reaſon, in reſpect to me, as their city was not properly within the limits of my government; however, they gave me as honourable a reception as they could have done to a governor choſen by themſelves. I entered the city with a train of twelve hundred horſe: ſuch an eſcort gave me the leſs room to be apprehenſive of thoſe attempts his majeſty warned me to be careful of; the Rochellers opened their gates to this train, without any diſtinction of perſons or religions; they were all lodged within the walls, and moſt of them in the houſes of the citizens. At a public dinner, which was given on my account, and to which I was invited with great ceremony, they drank the king's health, and ſaid, that, if his majeſty had done them the honour to preſent himſelf before their gates, though followed with thirty thouſand men, they would have opened them to him; and that, if their gates were

not wide enough to admit them, they would have thrown down three hundred feet of their walls. I saw nothing but reſpect and ſubmiſſion, and heard nothing but praiſes of this prince; they likewiſe aſſured me, with the moſt flattering encomiums, that, if I had brought a train much larger with me, they would have acted in the ſame manner. 1604.

The dinner I have mentioned conſiſted of ſeventeen tables, the leaſt of which had ſixteen covers; and the next day they gave me a collation as magnificent as the dinner had been; they added to it, the repreſentation of a naval fight between Correilles, and Chef-de-Baye, in which twenty French veſſels attacked a like number of Spaniſh veſſels. The vanquiſhed Spaniards were brought bound hand and foot, before a picture of the king, expoſed to public view; and they were preſented to me as to his lieutenant-general: nothing was wanting to render this ſhew complete; dreſſes, arms, pavillions, and eſcutcheons, all were choſen with the utmoſt propriety. I repaid this good reception, by granting the Rochellers, in the name of the king, whoſe elogium I pronounced publicly, the deliverance of their priſoners: excepting theſe, and the ſieur de Luſſan, I puniſhed ſeverely all that had infringed the treaties of commerce. His majeſty was ſatisfied with having obliged the city of Rochelle to aſk him for this favour, which he well knew how to make them pay for. At Poitiers, I learned ſome circumſtances which perſuaded me, the count of Auvergne was much more culpable than I had hitherto believed.

The king had allowed me ſo little time to regulate the affairs of this province, that I was obliged to defer viſiting the Upper and Lower Poitou till another opportunity. I could only obtain permiſſion from his majeſty to go to Saint-John d'Angely, and to Brougage, by repreſenting to him the neceſſity there was for undertaking this journey to undeceive the people of that diſtrict, who ſuſpected

1604. that the king had an intention to deprive them of their ſalt-pits. I ſet out from Rochelle, to go to theſe two places, and was received by meſſieurs de Rohan and de Saint-Luc ſtill better than I expected. I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to recall Rohan to his duty and allegiance; I mentioned his intrigues in England, and exhorted him to recall Durand from thence: he appeared greatly aſtoniſhed at this diſcourſe, complained of the calumnies his enemies ſpread abroad of him; diſavowed the agency of Durand; and, to convince me of his ſincerity, acknowledged circumſtances unaſked, as the horſe preſented by him to king James, but aſſured me, he had obtained his majeſty's permiſſion for it, which he could eaſily bring to his remembrance.

From Saint-Jean I reſumed the road to Paris through Thours, where I was deſirous of having a conference with the duke de La-Tremouille. I did not expect ſo polite a reception from him as I really received, ſenſible that he muſt be greatly mortified to ſee me poſſeſs a government, and receive honours, to which he had aſpired with ſuch extreme ardency, as to ſolicit them publicly. Our converſation often turned on the many cauſes of complaint the proteſtant party had given the king; and even in the preſence of Parabere, Saint-Germain-de Clan, Beſſes, La-Valliere, Conſtant, d'Aubigné (theſe were hardly ever abſent) Preaux, La-Ferriere, and La Sauſſaye; they all exclaimed loudly upon the injuſtice that had been done them by the king, proteſting their fidelity and attachment to his majeſty; and the better to impoſe upon me, accompanied their aſſurances with ſo much civility to myſelf, and ſuch groſs flatteries, that they fell into the other extreme of a too glaring affectation.

In the midſt of all this art and diſguiſe, I did not ceaſe to penetrate into their deſigns, by turning the diſcourſe, in their preſence, upon the ſtate of affairs in Spain and England. They betrayed themſelves then in ſpite of their endeavours to the contrary; and

and it was no longer poſſible for me to doubt, that all this little court of people attached to the dukes of Rohan and de La Tremouille were, in reality, ſuch as they were repreſented to his majeſty: but what I diſcovered at the ſame time, and the intelligence which the poſt I poſſeſſed in that province afforded me an opportunity of procuring, gave me, in the ſequel, the utmoſt certainty that theſe gentlemen had no power with the reſt of the proteſtant party; they were no longer, as formerly, thoſe abſolute leaders that, with a ſingle word, drew all their ſuffrages; but, on the contrary, they were ſhunned as men infected with the plague, when they came to deliberate in the aſſemblies. This they had brought upon themſelves by their own imprudence, in putting the party upon ſuch dangerous and ridiculous enterprizes, as had at length undeceived the moſt credulous amongſt them; and the higheſt idea that could be now given of them was, that they formed a party in the midſt of the party itſelf, and only ſupported themſelves by a vain exertion of authority, of which they but poſſeſſed the ſhadow. 1604.

I did not neglect to make all the advantage I could of ſuch favourable diſpoſitions, and entirely undeceived the people with regard to the injurious reports that had been ſpread among them concerning the ſalt-pits, the exciſe, and other monopolies, which had been made uſe of to excite them to ſedition. They now began to have a more perfect knowledge of their king; their notions of his tyranny and their ſlavery were wholly effaced. I made the proteſtants comprehend how groundleſs their ſuſpicions were, that Henry had ever deſigned to exclude them from any of the offices and dignities in the ſtate, ſince it had always been his chief maxim to keep the balance even between the two religions; I convinced them likewiſe, how much they had been blinded by prejudice, with reſpect to Clement the eighth, who was ſo far from endeavouring to extirpate the proteſtants, that he had, on all

1604. occaſions, ſtrongly oppoſed making war againſt them.

My actions completed the work theſe aſſurances had begun; I diſtributed penſions among thoſe of the party who had adviſed peace, and ſerved the king faithfully; and, to convince them abſolutely that they were not deceived, with regard to the equitable intentions of their ſovereign, I ſhewed them the paper that contained all the reformations he propoſed to make in the ſtate, the ſame that I have formerly mentioned, with which they were fully ſatisfied. By theſe means I ſo weakened the duke de La-Tremouille's party, that he could never afterwards add to it ſix perſons of any conſequence. The duke of Bouillon was ſo greatly affected with the knowledge that he had loſt all the remaining intereſt he had hitherto preſerved in this diſtrict of France, that he determined to paſs the reſt of his days in that kind of exile which kept him quiet in the court of the elector Palatine in ſpite of himſelf. Saint-Germain, who was not unacquainted with any of the duke's ſecrets, wrote an account of this deſign to La-Suaſſaye, of whom he thought himſelf abſolutely ſecure; but La-Suaſſaye gave me Saint-Germain's letter, which I ſhewed to his majeſty.

Having thus performed all that the preſent conjuncture, and the ſhortneſs of the time permitted me, I obeyed the king's repeated commands (which every one of his letters brought me) to return as ſoon as poſſible, and followed in a few days my laſt letter, which I wrote to his majeſty from Thouars on the 16th of July. Before I went away I viſited the duke de La-Tremouille for the laſt time; he was indiſpoſed when I came to Thouars, and I left him at the point of death when I ſet out from thence; he died * without being prevailed upon to

* Claude de La-Tremouille, duke of Thouars, died of the gout, being only thirty-four years of age. See his elogium in De Thou, book xxxi. and Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 663.

promiſe

promiſe that he would come to court, and his death deprived the malecontents of one leader. 1604.

I arrived at Paris on the 22d of July, where I found a billet from his majeſty, dated the 18th, in which he deſired me to ſend into every part of Normandy, Britany, and Poitou, whither I had a deſign to go myſelf, two perſons on whoſe fidelity and underſtanding I could rely, and to come myſelf to him at Monceaux, where he waited for me, having given over drinking the waters. I was ſenſible, by the kind and obliging reception this prince gave me, that I had been fortunate enough to give him ſatisfaction * as to the buſineſs that had occaſioned my journey; and I now related to him, during the courſe of three days, all that I had omitted in my letters to him or to Villeroi.

It has been reported, that the duke of Epernon behaved at that time in ſuch a manner in Guienne, as to give his majeſty more cauſe than ever to ſuſpect him; that I alſo diſtruſted his fidelity, and on this occaſion did him all the bad offices that could proceed from a mortal enemy. This report, with regard to myſelf, I here declare to be abſolutely falſe; and I believe what was ſaid to the diſadvantage of d'Epernon to be ſo likewiſe; and that the unfavourable ſentiments they attributed to his majeſty of this duke, has no better foundation. One would imagine, that the opinion Henry entertained of him was ſufficiently clear, by the letter this prince wrote to the duke on the ſubject of the diſpute between Du-Pleſſis and the biſhop of Evreux, in which he treated him as a friend, a title he never gave to thoſe whom he did not think worthy of it. And here I may add a circumſtance of which I am abſolutely certain, and ſpeak from my own knowledge.

His majeſty, after the time here meant, granted D'Epernon a thouſand things unaſk'd, and often

* De Thou ſays, this journey of M. de Roſny freed Henry IV. from great diſquiet, book xxxi.

1604. preſſed me to viſit him, and give him other inſtances of kindneſs, even before I had received the ſame compliment from him. If Henry heard any thing to the duke's diſadvantage during his ſtay in Guienne, it is what I am wholly ignorant of; this only I know, that his majeſty was eaſily freed from any remains of ſuſpicion, after the letters that d'Epernon ſent to him and to me by Perronne, in which there were ſuch evident marks of ſincerity and conſcious innocence confirmed by the offer he made to attend his majeſty upon the very firſt order he ſhould receive, that he might put his perſon in his power, to anſwer for the loyalty of his intentions, that there was nothing left to reply. No one is ignorant of what paſſed between the king and the duke of Epernon during the life, and even after the death of Henry III. and that this prince had diſcovered ſome reſentments towards him; but this was at an end; forgetfulneſs of injuries is a virtue very rare among princes, and is thought yet rarer than it is. Sufficient regard has not been ſhewn to the proofs which Henry has given more than once of that true greatneſs of mind which is capable of pardoning; and all that he did for the duke of Epernon may be conſidered as an inſtance of his clemency.

For myſelf, I was ſo far from being an enemy to d'Epernon, at the time I have been ſpeaking of, that I can bring a thouſand inſtances to prove we had been in a perfect good intelligence with each other: but it is fit I ſhould be believed upon my bare word, as I have hitherto ſhewn myſelf equally incapable of diſguiſing my ſentiments, whether of friendſhip or hatred, or accuſing the innocent, or juſtifying a traitor. D'Epernon had the misfortune to fall off his horſe in Guienne, by which he broke his thigh and his thumb, and bruiſed himſelf likewiſe in the ſhoulder and elbow; which obliged him to keep his bed forty days, and lie during all that time upon his back. I wrote to him a letter of condolance upon this accident; and he thanked

thanked me with the ſame affection which he uſu- 1604.
ally expreſſed in all his letters, for he then treated me as a friend; and I was likewiſe his confidant in all that regarded the king*. Another of my friends, but one who had never been otherwiſe, from whom I this year received letters equally polite, friendly, and unreſerved, was Bellegarde; they are dated from Dijon; he was then in his government of Burgundy. But it is time to return to the count of Auvergne.

It now depended wholly upon the king to deprive this rebellious ſubject of all means of conſpiring againſt the ſtate: the unſeaſonable clemency with which he had been treated by his majeſty at the time that marechal Biron ſuffered a juſt ſentence, was the cauſe of his relapſe; as the tenderneſs his majeſty had ſhewn for this whole family, on account of the marchioneſs de Verneuil, had firſt encouraged him in his revolt. It would not probably have been difficult to find ſuch another opportunity as his majeſty had ſuffered to eſcape him, when he received notice of the new intrigues which the count was carrying on in Spain, and that fuller diſcoveries concerning thoſe intrigues might be expected from the ſeizure of Morgan †, his chief agent, who was juſt then arreſted; but the king was contented with ſuffering D'Eſcures to go, by my orders, to Auvergne, where the count then was, to diſcover the plot, and by gentle methods perſuade him to come and throw himſelf at his majeſty's feet.

In effect, d'Auvergne was convinced that this was the wiſeſt and the only part he had to take; the ſeizing of Morgan had wholly diſconcerted him, and the meaſures he had taken had been too imprudent to leave him a hope that his deſigns could be concealed, or that they were in ſufficient forwardneſs to enable him to throw off the maſk; he feared that

* See the originals of theſe letters in the old Memoirs; they ſeem a little to contradict one another in what relates to the duke of Epernon.

† Thomas Morgan, an Engliſhman. See De Thou, ibid.

by

1604. by flying he ſhould expoſe the count and counteſs d'Entragues, and his whole family, to a ſhameful treatment; he therefore yielded to d'Eſcures' arguments, and promiſed to go with him to court, and reveal to the king his cloſet ſecrets, and even to ſhew a letter from his ſiſter, which he ſaid was of the utmoſt conſequence, provided that his majeſty would grant him the pardon he had promiſed. The original of this letter from the marchioneſs de Verneuil was not produced till the following year, and it was not very certain what credit ſhould be given to it, becauſe the brother and ſiſter ſometimes appeared to be on friendly terms, and often in ſuch high diſguſt that they could not bear each other's ſight. That which appears moſt worthy of obſervation in this letter is, that in it ſhe exhorts her brother to a ſecure retreat in a foreign country, and appears herſelf determined to do the like.

That the count d'Auvergne was not very ſincere in the promiſe he made d'Eſcures, appears by his ſending Yverné to Spain, at the very time that he ſet out himſelf for Paris. The biſhop of Montpellier diſcovered this intrigue, and ſent the king notice of it: but this prince was willing a ſecond time to liſten to his fine promiſes. He only ordered that, the parliament ſhould finiſh Morgan's trial, that the crime being made public might give more weight to the pardon he was reſolved to grant to the whole family of Auvergne, which was comprehended in it. All that this prince gained by the proſecution was, to get that famous promiſe * of marriage he had in vain ſolicited his miſtreſs to return, reſtored to him by d'Entragues: which was done in the preſence of the count of Soiſſons, the duke of Montpenſier, the chancellor, Sillery, La-Guéle, Jeannin, Gevres,

* Henry IV. in order to get back this promiſe was obliged to pay the marchioneſs de Verneuil, twenty thouſand crowns down, and to promiſe the baton of a marechal of France to the count of Entragues, who had never been in any military action. De Thou, book cxxxii.

and

and Villeroi; that this reſtitution might not be afterwards eluded by any reſtriction or diſavowal; and an act was made, importing, that this was the true and only writing given by his majeſty on that ſubject; and the declaration of d'Entragues confirming this, was joined to the paper. 1604.

This conduct of Henry was not calculated to make the count of Auvergne leſs raſh and enterpriſing; and, in effect, he renewed his former intrigues almoſt before his majeſty's eyes: his whole care was to deceive the king, who for a long time was impoſed upon by his appearances of ſincerity: but at length the whole myſtery was diſcovered by ſome letters written and received by d'Auvergne, which fell into the hands of Lomenie, and by him carried immediately to the king. This prince was then convinced of the full extent of his crimes; but this conviction came too late, for the count, either by his own penetration, or that he received notice of what had happened, had time to leave the court before the reſolution that had been taken to arreſt him could be executed, determined within himſelf never to return to it again after the danger he had ſo lately eſcaped, and even to leave France altogether, upon the leaſt information that any thing was reſolved on againſt him.

The king acquainted me with the perplexity he was in through his own fault. D'Eſcures was ſent again to Auvergne: he went a third time, but to no purpoſe: the methods that had formerly ſucceeded were now ineffectual. D'Auvergne always knew how to elude his return to court, to which he was earneſtly preſſed, but with ſuch appearance of indifference and unconcern, that it was not poſſible to draw from his refuſal a conviction of his crime, as it was expected they ſhould do. He made the faireſt promiſes imaginable, and always appeared diſpoſed to ſet out. There was a neceſſity at length for making uſe of the only method yet unattempted, which

1604. which was to ſecure his perſon; but this did not ſeem eaſy to effect.

I caſt my eyes upon a man who ſeemed to me likely enough to ſucceed in ſuch an attempt, and this was the treaſurer Murat; his perſonal hatred to the count d'Auvergne, his knowledge of the country, the convenience he could have of ſtaying a long time upon the ſpot without giving cauſe of ſuſpicion, his reſolution in any arduous enterprize, and his zeal for the ſervice of his majeſty, all promiſed a happy and honourable end of this commiſſion. I propoſed him to the king when his majeſty mentioned the affair to me, and upon his approbation I ſent for Murat; to whom at firſt I acted with all the reſerve and precaution that a matter of ſuch conſequence required. When I found that inſtead of bringing arguments for being diſpenſed with for ſuch a ſervice, he himſelf prevented my offers, I explained myſelf clearly, and perceived that the propoſal was far from being diſpleaſing to him; he only required a commiſſion for it under the great ſeal, which was granted, and kept very ſecret. As we had not yet loſt all hope that d'Eſcures might be able to draw the count to court, and in that caſe Murat would have nothing to do, when I gave him his inſtructions I enjoined him not to act but in concert with d'Eſcures, and to conceal from every one the part that was to be given him in this buſineſs, if he found there was no longer any occaſion for him.

D'Eſcures ſet out for Auvergne on the 17th of Auguſt (this was the third or fourth time of his going) and Murat followed him a few days afterwards provided with blank letters for the cities and officers *de preſideaux*, which were to be filled up at the places themſelves. In the mean time ſome letters from d'Auvergne came to hand, in which he expreſſed ſo much fear and ſhame, that the king rightly judged he would never be prevailed on to appear at court, and therefore thought it beſt for

d'Eſcures to avoid preſſing him to take that ſtep, leſt he ſhould increaſe his apprehenſions. Murat had now orders to act ſingly; and d'Eſcures, on his ſide, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure certain intelligence of all d'Auvergne's practices in Spain, and, if poſſible, to intercept the treaty which it was thought he had already made with the council of Madrid. All this d'Eſcures executed with ſuch dexterity, that he prevented the count, artful and penetrating as he was, from ſuſpecting any of thoſe meaſures the council was now purſuing. 1604.

A little affair between a brother of Murat's and the count of Auvergne gave this truſty agent a pretence for going to the count; which having ſettled between them, the count, of himſelf, entered into a converſation with him concerning the ſtate of his affairs at court, which gave Murat an opportunity of ſeeming to regulate the advice he offered him upon what he himſelf had ſaid. D'Auvergne founded violent ſuſpicions upon the inſinuations that were given him, that the king expected he ſhould ſhew himſelf at court; and upon d'Eſcures's endeavouring to perſuade him to go, yet pretending not to know that it was the king's deſire, he therefore aſſured Murat that he would not go; and that rather than expoſe himſelf to the fury of his enemies, he would ſubmit himſelf to a voluntary exile in a foreign country: he mentioned the fate of marechal Biron, which ſeemed to give him great apprehenſions; and ſaid, that formerly having had the misfortune to offend his king, he could not reſolve to appear before him till he had effaced the memory of his fault by new ſervices, and till the pardon his majeſty had granted him was confirmed. At length he gave Murat to underſtand, that his reaſon for not being willing to truſt the intentions of the court, aroſe from the informations he had received of the danger he was threatened with if he appeared there, this notice having been ſent to him from ſome of the courtiers themſelves, perſons of the firſt diſtinction,

1604. tion, who were well acquainted with the affair, and deſerved to be relied on.

Murat finding himſelf thus made a confidant of, anſwered with great ſeeming ſimplicity, that ſince the count had confeſſed his error to the king, he ſaw no inconvenience attending his return to court; that the pardon he had obtained made a wide difference between his caſe and that of marechal Biron; and that nothing but a relapſe into the ſame error could authoriſe his ſcruples, ſince Henry had never yet broke his word with any one; therefore his beſt counſellors would be his own conſcience. D'Eſcures likewiſe laboured with equal ſolicitude to re-aſſure him with regard to the king, and to give him a diſtruſt of thoſe perſons that ſent him the informations he had mentioned.

To all this the count only replied, that when his life was in queſtion he would not run any hazard; that neither the king, the queen, or the princes of the blood, were his friends, and the maſter of the horſe was his mortal enemy; that the ſilence of his friends on this occaſion was one proof of his ruin being determined; that no one ſolicited for him to the king; that he now never received any letters from Villeroi, Sillery, or me, becauſe we were not willing to reproach ourſelves with having been the inſtruments of his fate; that the conſtable no longer correſponded with him, for fear of rendering himſelf ſuſpected: but it was with the marchioneſs de Verneuil he appeared to be moſt diſcontented; he knew his ſiſter, he ſaid, to make her peace with the king at his expence, was capable of charging him with falſe crimes, if ſhe could not with real ones; and concluded with new proteſtations, that nothing ſhould draw him from his retreat. As he did not ſuſpect that d'Eſcures and Murat were come with an intention to perſuade him to go, he told them that he ſuppoſed Vitry would arrive in a few days, and expect to gain him with fair words, but that he would loſe his labour.

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The retreat he was reſolved not to be prevailed upon to leave was Vic, a poor houſe, without any conveniences, but ſituated in the midſt of a wood, where d'Auvergne paſſed whole days, under pretence of hunting. Although there had been no other proofs of his crimes, his fears, his continual alarms, the agitation of his thoughts, the wildneſs of his look and air, and the diſorder of his whole perſon, would have been a ſufficient teſtimony againſt him: nothing could be more miſerable than the life he now led; and the terror and anxiety that preyed upon his heart, revenged, by anticipating his puniſhment, both the king and the ſtate. He was afraid to ſtay in his houſe, yet durſt not truſt himſelf at any conſiderable diſtance from it; he was never ſeen in the neighbouring towns; he had left off viſiting his friends, nor durſt even confide in his miſtreſs, a certain lady, named madame de Chateau-gay; he no longer viſited her at her houſe, but when he choſe to ſee her they met in an obſcure village, or in the midſt of the fields, always in the night, and never twice together in the ſame place. His ſervants, whom he poſted on eminences in the neighbouring places, were ordered to give him notice when they ſaw any one appear, by blowing a horn; and ſometimes he made uſe of dogs for his guard. 1604.

With theſe precautions he defied all his enemies, and inſolently, as well as imprudently, boaſted, that he ſhould always be able to deceive and eſcape them: nevertheleſs his reſolutions were always varying; he never continued two moments in the ſame mind. And this man, ſo wiſe, ſo ſagacious, penetrated ſo little into the intentions of thoſe that came to deſtroy him, that he made them his friends, took them for his counſellors, and was many times upon the point of abandoning himſelf to their diſcretion. But prudence is a quality ſeldom found with a bad conſcience; had d'Auvergne poſſeſſed ever ſo little of it, he would have known, that there was no ſafety for him but in an immediate flight to Spain; and

1604. and this, probably, was the only ſcheme that never entered into his head. At the very moment that, to d'Eſcures and Murat, he appeared determined not to expoſe himſelf to the danger of going to court, he talked to them in a ſtrain quite different. He once ſent to them to come and meet him at a place three leagues diſtant from his own houſe: though this ſummons gave them at firſt ſome uneaſineſs, not knowing what his intentions might be, yet they went, and found that he had ſent for them only to tell them he was now reſolved to go and preſent himſelf to the king. His majeſty, to whom they ſent immediate notice of this reſolution, and who gave the more credit to it on account of a falſe report that was added to it, wrote to me on the 19th of November, that d'Auvergne was at Moret, ready to ſet out for Paris. In this it was not d'Eſcures and Murat that were deceived by the count, but the count by his own inconſtancy; for he was the firſt to retain them with him, when they appeared willing to go back, and to refer them for his laſt anſwer to the return of Fougeu, from whom he expected to draw a great deal of intelligence; to which the two agents ſeemed to conſent, purely through complaiſance to him.

This whole account I take from Murat's letters. I received, at the ſame time, a letter from the count d'Auvergne himſelf. He complained to the two agents, that he never had any anſwer to four letters, which, he ſaid, he had wrote to me. I received, indeed, four from him, but all together; and the writing ſo like, although of different dates, that I perceived immediately what credit I ought to give to them. It was probable, that d'Auvergne did not think of me at firſt, or believed that it would not be proper to make any application to me; but that afterwards, ſuppoſing this method was likely enough to make his peace, for he often mentioned me to the two agents, he had recourſe to it, with the well known

known artifice of antedating his letters, to prove to me that this had always been his deſign. 1604.

If the count had any intention to draw a promiſe from me, which, on this occaſion, he might make uſe of as a ſecurity, he deceived himſelf greatly: I ſent him an anſwer indeed, but as if I had nothing more nor better to ſay to him, than what I had ſaid before to marechal Biron in the ſame circumſtances, I treated him like a ſtate criminal, without augmenting his ſuſpicions; the letter I wrote to Auvergne, in a word, was but a copy of that which I had written to marechal Biron: and he could not be ignorant that it was ſo, ſince I acknowledged it plainly. It is by this counterſtroke, which is doubtleſs of new invention, that I gave d'Auvergne to underſtand, he ought neither to attribute to the king, ſuch ſentiments of him as he really did not entertain, neglect the advice I had often given him, relating to his conduct, nor lay a ſtreſs upon actions and reports, that had no foundation but in his own unquiet conſcience. This was all that I wrote to Auvergne; and after his conviction, this proceeding appeared ſo candid, and ſo free from all artifice, that he praiſed it greatly.

Deſcures and Murat at length found the opportunity they had ſo long waited for. M. de Vendome's regiment of light horſe being to be reviewed, they imparted a ſcheme that they had concerted to D'Erre, who commanded it; and the general officers of this body being all ready, it was effected in the following manner: D'Erre went to the count, and told him, that he being colonel-general of the light cavalry, he ought certainly to be preſent at this review. D'Auvergne apprehended no danger, becauſe he was not only mounted upon a horſe, which, as he ſaid, outſtripped the wind; and, indeed, he was accuſtomed to make him gallop ten leagues without intermiſſion; but he was reſolved not to enter any narrow place, or to diſmount during the whole time. Accordingly he came to the review.

1604. Nereſtan advanced to ſalute him, followed only by four footmen, in appearance; but in reality, four ſtout and reſolute ſoldiers, whom they had diſguiſed in liveries. At the inſtant that Nereſtan was paying his compliments, two of theſe ſoldiers ſeized the reins of the count's bridle, and the two others, at the ſame time, laid hold of his legs and pulled him off his horſe, throwing themſelves upon him ſo ſuddenly, that he had neither time to lay his hand upon his piſtols, nor draw his ſword, and ſtill leſs to fly. He was immediately conducted, under a good guard, to Paris, and ſhut up in the Baſtile *.

D'Entragues was arreſted at the ſame time that the count d'Auvergne was; and the marchioneſs de Verneuil was, in ſome ſort, aſſociated with the two criminals, ſince the king conſented that ſhe ſhould be confined in her houſe †, where ſhe continued under the guard of the chevalier Du Guet. It was this aſſociation that ſaved the lives of the father-in-law and the brother. At firſt they had not dared to hope for ſo much lenity; nor could the public expect it, after ſuch frequent relapſes, eſ-

* "The counteſs of Auvergne, "as meek and humble as the "marchioneſs was haughty and "imperious, having thrown her-"ſelf at the king's feet with all "the marks of the deepeſt ſorrow, "to beg his pardon for her huſ-"band, his majeſty, with great "courteſy, raiſed her up and ſaluted "her, ſaying thus to her, I feel the "utmoſt compaſſion for your mi-"ſery and your tears, but if I "ſhould grant your requeſt, this "my wife (taking the queen by "the hand) muſt be declared a "whore, my ſon a baſtard, and "my kingdom fall a prey to others. "The ſame lady having obtained "the king's permiſſion to ſend one "to ſee her huſband, and to en-"quire of him what ſhe could do "for his ſervice, he ſent her word, "only to let him have ſome good "cheeſe and muſtard, and not to "trouble herſelf about any thing "further." Journal of the reign of Henry IV.

"The count of Auvergne," ſays Amelot in the place before quoted, "had ſo entire a dependance on "the fidelity of Anthony (that is, "the paymaſter Chevillard) that, "in three examinations he under-"went, he ſaid, with as much in-"trepidity as if he had been en-"tirely innocent, in this reſpect, "*Gentlemen, ſhew me one ſingle line "of my writing to prove I ever en-"tered into any treaty with the king "of Spain, or his ambaſſador, and "I will write the ſentence of my "death under it, and condemn my-"ſelf to be quartered alive.*"

† In the houſe of one Audicourt, in Saint Paul's ſtreet.

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pecially as they found that preparations were making for trying them with the utmoſt ſeverity. The count of Auvergne gave the king an exact account of his correſpondencies, as well within as without the kingdom; and he was obliged to give up that promiſe of aſſociation made by him and the dukes of Bouillon and Biron, which has been mentioned before, and till now could never be forced from him. 1604.

Meſſages at the ſame time began to be carried between Henry and the marchioneſs de Verneuil, not on the ſame account; for I am perſuaded, the reader does not expect to ſee any great ſeverity uſed towards her. The king could not reſolve to leave her a ſingle moment in doubt of her pardon; with difficulty it was that he endeavoured to ſave appearances, by ſending different meſſengers to tell the marchioneſs, that ſhe ſhould purchaſe this pardon, by an abſolute ſubmiſſion to ſuch conditions as he ſhould preſcribe to her. La-Varenne, Sigogne, the whole court, were employed in theſe meſſages, which, by the manner in which they were delivered, were indeed the real advances of a lover, who feared, notwithſtanding his anger, that he ſhould raiſe too ſtrong an obſtacle to his reconciliation with the object of his paſſion. The marchioneſs diſcovered and well knew how to make her advantage of this weakneſs. I likewiſe ſerved Henry for an interpreter upon this occaſion, although I plainly perceived that he would not come off with honour: but he inſiſted upon my interpoſing, and I obeyed him, with an intention to make the concluſion of this affair as honourable as I could for him.

The firſt order his majeſty gave me, was to go to the marchioneſs de Verneuil, and hear what ſhe had to ſay concerning the crimes ſhe was accuſed of, to draw from her a confeſſion of them, and make her ſenſible of her ingratitude. I cannot ſay that my commiſſion went farther, unleſs one takes in ſeveral bitter reproaches, and ſome advice which proved to be uſeleſs, concerning the manner in which

1604. ſhe ought to have behaved to a prince who had laid ſuch great obligations upon her. I did not ſee her the firſt time I went to her houſe; ſhe ordered me to be told, that a defluxion which was fallen upon her face, hindered her from receiving any viſits. I ſent a gentleman to her, to know at what hour I ſhould attend her; but, before my meſſenger was returned, a ſervant, whom ſhe had ſent in the mean time, came to tell me, that ſhe would ſee me at two o'clock in the afternoon.

I found a woman whom diſgrace could not humble, whoſe inſolence detection could not abate *, and who, inſtead of endeavouring to excuſe herſelf, or to implore a pardon, talked in the ſtyle of one who had ſuffered wrongs, not given them, and pretended to demand conditions for herſelf; ſhe complained, ſhe raved againſt the king, made new demands, wrapped herſelf up in reſerve, and affected the devotee. I was not a perſon on whom theſe arts were to be played off; I neither flattered her pride, nor ſoothed her reſentment; I began with the greateſt of her crimes, and reproached her with having joined herſelf to the enemies of the ſtate; I told her that ſhe would have reaſon to think herſelf happy, if her puniſhment was confined to a permiſſion to baniſh herſelf out of the kingdom, to end her days in any country but Spain; and that this favour would not be granted her, till ſhe had ſubmitted to be examined as a criminal, and aſked the king's pardon for her diſobedience.

* "She ſaid, ſhe gave herſelf "no concern about dying, but that, "on the contrary, ſhe wiſhed for "death; but, if the king ſhould "put her to death, it would always "be ſaid he had killed his wife, "for that ſhe was his queen before "the other: upon the whole, ſhe "only deſired three things of his "majeſty: a pardon for her fa-"ther; a rope for her brother, "and juſtice for herſelf." Journal of the reign of Henry IV. "On ſearching her cabinets, adds "the ſame author, and making "an inventory of all her papers, "many love letters (the imple-"ments of her trade) were found "amongſt them, ſome of which "were from Sigogne, which oc-"caſioned his diſgrace."

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I proceeded in the next place, to her inſolent behaviour towards the queen. I made her ſenſible, that to offend, as ſhe had done, a princeſs, who was her queen and miſtreſs *, by a thouſand injurious reflexions, was to attack the king himſelf, and expoſe her own perſon to a ſevere puniſhment: I reproached her with her ridiculous affectation of equalling herſelf to the queen, and her children to the children of France; with her haughty and inſolent behaviour; and eſpecially her malignity in ſowing diſcord between their majeſties: and added, that ſhe would be compelled to throw herſelf at the queen's feet, to implore her pardon for all the faults ſhe had committed againſt her. 1604.

Nor did I ſpare her upon her pretended devotion to which ſhe had recourſe, not ſcrupling, at the ſame time, to violate her principal duties to the king, the queen, and the ſtate. I told her plainly, that this ſhew of regularity was mere grimace and affectation, which I proved by entering into a detail of her whole life, to let her ſee that I was well informed of her amours. I even mentioned them all particularly, to deprive her of her uſual excuſe, that they exiſted only in the jealous imagination of the king; and thence drew a new ſubject of ſhame and confuſion for her with regard to this prince, whom ſhe ſo groſly abuſed. I ſhewed her what ſhe would have done if her inclination for a religious life had been a real return towards God; and aſſured her, that his majeſty would never have oppoſed her retreat into a convent, if he had perceived in her behaviour any ſigns of true devotion.

I gave her, at length, all ſorts of good counſels, which indeed ſhe did not deſire, nor was diſpoſed to follow. She ought, at leaſt, to have appeared willing to do ſo; but ſhe contented herſelf with anſwering coldly, after hearing me the whole time with

* "She ſometimes ſaid, that, if juſtice were done her, ſhe ought to "be in the place of that clumſy tradeſwoman." Perefixe.

1604. great indifference, that ſhe thanked me, and would conſider of what I had ſaid. When I aſked her what cauſes of complaint ſhe had received that had thus carried her to violate her duty to the king, her anſwer was, that if the king had aſked her this queſtion, he would have been to blame, ſince he knew them better than any other perſon; and if it came from myſelf, I was no leſs ſo, ſince I had no means of ſatisfying it.

Continuing ſtill to queſtion her, I aſked what it was that ſhe requeſted of his majeſty. She anſwered, that although ſhe knew well the king's inclinations would not be comformable to hers on this article, yet ſhe ſtill perſiſted to demand permiſſion for herſelf, her father, mother, brother, and her children, to go and ſettle themſelves ſomewhere out of France: and added, in naming her brother, that he ſuffered only on account of his affection for her. I could hardly perſuade myſelf this reſolution was ſincere. I contrived it ſo as to make her repeat it ſeveral times, and ſhe never varied from it in the ſmalleſt article. It was natural enough that the rage and grief ſhe conceived at the impriſonment of her family, and the treatment ſhe herſelf ſuffered, ſhould make her form ſuch a deſign; and the conditions ſhe annexed to it abſolutely convinced me that ſhe was in earneſt. Upon my obliging her to explain herſelf farther as to this intended retreat out of the kingdom, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe would not go among foreigners to ſtarve; the queen ſhould not have the ſatisfaction to know that ſhe dragged on a miſerable life in poverty and exile. She therefore inſiſted, that an eſtate in lands ſhould be given her of a hundred thouſand francs at leaſt, which was but a trifle, after all ſhe might have lawfully expected from the king. Theſe words, which ſhe pronounced with great bitterneſs, doubtleſs related to the promiſe of marriage given her by Henry, the loſs of which had affected her ſtrongly: and ſhe endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal her rage from me.

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I had never formed to myſelf any great expectations from an interview with the marchioneſs of Verneuil; but I could not help laying ſome ſtreſs upon her repeated requeſt, to be allowed to ſettle out of the kingdom; the more I reflected on it, the more I was convinced that it was the only method by which this whole intrigue * could be unravelled; and all which now remained to be done, was to prevail upon Henry to conſent to this propoſal of the marchioneſs, by which he would remove from his eyes an object that drew him into continual weakneſſes, and purchaſe the future peace and tranquillity of his family. Money was all that was required of him to procure theſe advantages: ought the effort then to be ſo painful? I was determined to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to accompliſh it. 1604.

I went to his majeſty; and, after giving him an account of the ſucceſs of my commiſſion, propoſed to him the expedient that preſented itſelf to free him from all his uneaſineſs. I was not ſurpriſed to find, that it did not appear ſo happy to him as it had done to me; but I was armed with ſtrong arguments of every kind to ſupport it; what did I not ſay to this prince? what perſuaſion did I not

* M. de Sully had made Henry IV. loſe a favourable opportunity of getting handſomely rid of his miſtreſs, if we may believe Baſſompierre's Memoirs, where the thing is thus related, vol. I. p. 90. "The king aſked whether he "ſhould give Madam de Verneuil "any thing to enable her to mar- "ry a prince, who, ſhe told him, "was willing to have her, pro- "vided ſhe had a hundred thou- "ſand crowns more than ſhe then "was worth. M. de Beliévre ſaid, "Sire, I am of opinion it will be "well worth your while to give "that lady a hundred thouſand "crowns, if ſhe can find a good "match by that means: to which "M. de Sully anſwering, that it "was an eaſy matter to talk of "an hundred thouſand crowns, "but very difficult to find out the "means to raiſe them, the chan- "cellor, without taking notice of "what he ſaid, went on; Sire, I "am of opinion, that you ſhould "take two hundred thouſand good "crowns, and if that is not ſuffi- "cient three hundred thouſand, "or, in ſhort, any other ſum that "may be ſufficient, and give them "to this fair lady to get her a huſ- "band; this, I repeat it, is my "advice. The king repented af- "terwards he did not follow this "advice." But ſuppoſing this pretended match to be ſomething more than a mere artifice of the lady's, I believe it miſcarried through Henry IVth's fault rather than the duke of Sully's.

1604. uſe? policy, intereſt, quiet, reaſon, each of theſe motives I dwelt upon, and exhauſted all; I brought to his remembrance his own unfavourable opinion of this woman and her family; I repeated circumſtances ſo much the more likely to rekindle his anger, as they had already often produced that effect; the harſh epithets he had given the counteſs d'Entragues and her daughters; the intrigues ſo well known and ſo inconteſtable, that had given cauſe for them; the ſum of money granted by his order, to pay for an imaginary ſacrifice in the firſt favour, which he confeſſed, at the ſame time, was no longer in the power of his miſtreſs to beſtow; the untimely birth of the infant by a ſtorm, and other anecdotes of the ſame nature, capable of diſguſting a delicate lover. Never before had I made a diſcourſe ſo pathetic, nor, in my own opinion, ſo convincing: all my tenderneſs for the honour of this prince was alarmed by the ſhame I ſaw ready to overwhelm him; I entreated, I implored, every power of perſuaſion I exerted; I was not diſcouraged by an ineffectual attempt: again I returned to the charge; my zeal became perſecution: and ſometimes carried me out of myſelf, as it did in a converſation we had in the garden, belonging to the conciergerie at Fontainebleau, where we ſpoke ſo loud, as to be heard by Baſtien and Brunault.

Nothing was ever more ſingular or incomprehenſible; a prince, whoſe great qualities might ſerve as a model for other monarchs to form themſelves upon, reduces us to the neceſſity of either throwing a veil over one part of that heroic mind, or of confeſſing that it diſhonours the other. I take, without heſitation, this laſt path, while I lament the force of human frailty, for I hold myſelf under an obligation to do it; and ſhould think I had laboured but by halves for the inſtruction of mankind in general, and of princes in particular, if I threw any part of this picture into ſhade. I therefore open to them the receſſes of that heart, where

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so much greatness was blended with so much weakness, that, by the contrast, each may become more conspicuous; and that they may be upon their guard against that dangerous passion, so capable of inspiring shameful affections, and of tainting their souls with vices abhorred before; mean artifices, cowardly fears, jealousy, rancour, rage, and even perjury and lies. Yes, I repeat it again, perjury and lies. Henry, that man on every other occasion so upright, so open, so sincere, became acquainted with all these vices, when he abandoned himself to love. I often found that he deceived me by false confidances, when he was under no obligation to enter into true ones; that he feigned returns to reason, and resolutions which his heart rejected; in a word, that he pretended to be ashamed of his fetters, when he secretly vowed never to break them. 1694.

It was but too true, that he was infected with that jealousy his mistress publicly reproached him with. This was easy to be perceived by the efforts he made to supplant rivals, whom he was too weak to despise, and too timid to punish. *Aut Cæsar, aut nihil*, says he in one of his letters to me. What a strange contrast of caprices and extravagances! He was convinced that the marchioness of Verneuil had recourse to the affectation of devotion to conceal her libertinism; and this conviction pierced his heart with a thousand cruel and insupportable wounds; but he felt, no less forcibly, the delight which the desire of triumphing over a real devotion gives to a depraved heart.

One of those caprices which most surprised me, and persuaded me that it was absolutely impossible to cure this unhappy prince, was, that at those very times when he appeared most cool and indifferent in all he said of his mistress, yet the letters he wrote to be shewn to her, expressed quite contrary sentiments. I have made the same observation of the marchioness, but with less surprise. It must be

1604. therefore, that theſe lovers, amidſt the wildeſt tranſports of their anger, could not hinder themſelves from ſtill depending a little upon the latent tenderneſs of each other; and that their tenderneſs ſtill ſubſiſted without their perceiving it themſelves: or that the king, ingenious in finding out methods to debaſe himſelf, had a long time before furniſhed his miſtreſs with arms againſt him, which he would not oblige her to make uſe of, by driving her to extremities; or laſtly, and this is the leaſt unfavourable judgment that can be formed of this prince, that ſome private tranſactions had paſſed between them, which Henry, through regret or ſhame, could not reſolve to impart to me, or to any one whatever.

I have thrown together all that relates to the preſent ſubject, although part of the facts, as has been ſeen, ſuch as the ſeizing of the count d'Auvergne, and the proceſs carried on againſt his family, did not happen till towards the end of the year, that I might not be obliged to interrupt the narration ſo frequently *. I ſhall reſume it at the

* I here ſubjoin an anecdote of Vittorio Siri's, relating to the amours of Henry IV. and the conſpiracy of the count of Auvergne. This writer aſſerts, Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 297, that one object of this conſpiracy was to ſeize the king's perſon, by laying an ambuſcade for him, and then putting him to death; and that d'Entragues, who had undertaken the execution of this project, intended to make uſe of the paſſion he had diſcovered the king to have newly conceived for his ſecond daughter, who is repreſented as much handſomer than her ſiſter, to draw him into the ſnare. He therefore ſent his wife to fetch her away from Fontainebleau, making no queſtion but the king would expoſe himſelf to any danger to come to ſee her at Maleſherbes, which place is but three leagues diſtant from that place: and truly, Henry immediately ſent meſſage after meſſage to mademoiſelle d'Entragues, by ſome of his courtiers diſguiſed in the habit of peaſants. Her anſwer to which was, that ſhe was ſo cloſely watched, that there was not the leaſt probability of her being able to ſee the king. At laſt he could not forbear going there in perſon, accompanied by marechal Baſſompierre; and not daring to go into the houſe for fear of being diſcovered, he was obliged to content himſelf with ſpeaking to her at the window of a lower room: he wrote to her every day, and ſent her verſes of gallantry, which he got the beſt poets of the court to compoſe for him. At laſt they agreed to meet one another on a day appointed, at a certain place, in a meadow named by the king, where they might be at full liberty,

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beginning of the following year, that we may see the event, after I have given, in this, an account of some other matters very different from those I have been treating. 1604.

and where he promised to come in disguise. D'Entragues seemed to be entirely ignorant of all this contrivance; but either having mentioned to his daughter, or accidentally given her some reason to suspect his design, whether she really loved the king, or was apprehensive of the consequences, she broke off the appointment, and took other precautions against the danger to which Henry IV. was going to expose himself on her account. The king, wearied out by so many obstacles to his wishes, renewed his amour with the marchioness of Verneuil; and, if we may believe Siri, often was exposed to the same dangers with her: one day in particular, as he was going in disguise from Fontainebleau to visit her at Verneuil, he so narrowly avoided falling into the hand of fifteen or sixteen of D'Entragues's relations, who were upon the watch for him in the fields, in order to assassinate him, that his escaping them may be considered as a particular instance of his good fortune. But, as these circumstances are not taken notice of in any Memoirs of credit of those times, they seem to be only some of those strokes, with which a foreigner, on the authority of popular report, may think he has a right to enliven his subject.

Mademoiselle d'Entragues, of whom we have been speaking, seems to be her of Henry the IVth's mistresses, whom he has celebrated under the name of Lisa: and there are still some original pieces of poetry in being which he sent her; amongst others a sonnet, of which I shall only repeat the four first verses:

Je ne sçais par où commencer,
A louer votre grande beauté;
Car il n'est rien, ni n'a été
Que vous ne puissiez effacer, &c.

What tongue can tell, what words express,
The beauties of thy charming face:
Since all we've seen, and all we see,
Appears but as a foil to thee, &c.

What follows is in the same strain. Though there is a remark at the head of this sonnet, of the hand-writing of Henry IV. that it was made by Collin, a poet whose pen that prince often was pleased to make use of in works of this kind, these compositions are neither too correct, nor too poetical, to prevent our believing Henry himself might be the author of them, or at least in some degree concerned in them.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XIX.

1604. THE king, from the year 1602, looking out for a ſafe and convenient place where he might lay up his revenues, and the money which he ſet apart for the execution of his deſigns, fixed upon the Baſtile, where he ordered cheſts to be made, and all other neceſſary conveniences: for this article he was obliged to publiſh a regulation that might bring this new diſpoſition of money into method, to prevent the confuſion of different offices, and to hinder the receivers from being entangled with the chamber of accounts: the regulation was thus.

No money was to be carried to the Baſtile but that which remained clear in the king's hands; all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, being firſt taken out of the revenues of the quarter in which they fell. The money was put into the hands of the treaſurer in office, in the preſence of the ſuperintendant of the finances, and the comptroller-general, who at that time was John de Vienne; the comptroller and I had each of us a key, and the treaſurer had likewiſe a third; when his year of office was over he received a certificate, ſigned by me and Vienne, of the ſums that

that had been put in the king's cheſts during his adminiſtration; this he put into the hands of his ſucceſſor, and received from him an acquittance, which he was at liberty to ſhew as his diſcharge. The new treaſurer had a right to know whether the certificate was exact, by inſpecting the money contained in the treaſury; upon this acquittance, the treaſurer was authoriſed to draw up his account, which the chamber of accounts was obliged to paſs without further examination. 1604.

His majeſty was of opinion, that he ought early to publiſh his intentions and juſtify his conduct, both with reſpect to that accumulation of riches, and to the changes which had been already made, and which were ſtill to be made in the finances. This was done in a council extraordinarily aſſembled for this purpoſe. The chancellor received from the king, and publiſhed, the liſt of thoſe who were to compoſe the council, conſiſting of deputies of the ſovereign courts of Paris, named by his majeſty, the principal members of his council, and the chief adminiſtrators of juſtice, the revenues, and police. They met on the appointed day in the great cloſet of the Louvre, which is at the end of the guard-room, joining that of the king's chamber. When they were all aſſembled the king came in, and having ordered the whole aſſembly to be ſeated, he explained to them the motives of his conduct, in a diſcourſe of which this is the ſubſtance: The civil wars, he told them, had reduced the revenues of the kingdom to ſuch a ſtate, that the annual income was ſcarce ſufficient to clear the annual debt; and it was neceſſary therefore to improve the ſtate of affairs, not only by enquiries and proſecutions, which had already ſo far benefited the nation, that it was cleared of part of the debt, but likewiſe to form new funds, that if there ſhould either happen a war of conſequence, or a troubleſome minority, the king might neither be obliged to become bankrupt, nor to let public affairs ſink into their former confuſion,

1604. fuſion, to ſupport the expences which could not otherways be raiſed for this purpoſe; that the beſt uſe was to be made of peaceable times, in which there was nothing of that kind to be dreaded; that the means neceſſary to this, which however ſhould be practiſed, without doing any miſchief by precipitation, were the extinction of revenues granted by the ſtate on ſeveral pretences, the reimburſement of offices, and the reſumption of crown lands, that had been given away.

His majeſty was reſolved to begin by examining the ſeveral grants of revenues; and this was to be entered upon this very year: upon this head he let fall an expreſſion to prepare their minds for the juſt ſeverity of this procedure, by ſaying, that in the firſt place he ſhould endeavour to make a rigorous diſcrimination between thoſe that had really paid in money the principal of the arrears, which they were now receiving back from the king's revenues, and thoſe who had made falſe claims upon the king. Henry added, that he reckoned ſo much upon the œconomy with which he intended to manage his revenues for the time to come, that he conſidered a deſign which required the amaſſing of large ſums in the treaſury, as by no means inconſiſtent with his purpoſe of eaſing the people by leſſening the taxes, which he ſhould always keep before his eyes. He exhorted the aſſembly to aſſiſt ſuch juſt and upright intentions, and directed that they ſhould twice a day, during eight days, deliberate maturely upon this propoſition, and at the end of that time, ſhould lay before him the reſult of their deliberation. He promiſed to follow any good ſcheme that ſhould be offered, with the ſame ſincerity which he had diſcovered in imparting his own; and not to forget thoſe who ſhould give proofs on this occaſion of their regard for the public.

Aſſemblies of this kind are, in my opinion, not to be condemned, even when they are only called to keep up a form which may be of no great uſe, ſince they ſerve,

ſerve, it may be ſaid, no other purpoſes than to notify to the miniſters, with leſs appearance of abſolute power, the decrees of the prince already fixed in a ſecret council. This very aſſembly did not eſcape this reflection; the propoſal of the king, though in itſelf unqueſtionably juſt and beneficial to the community, did not meet with the more approbation for its uſefulneſs. I know not what will be ſaid on this occaſion by the aſſertors of the authority of the people, but I for my part am of opinion, and multitudes of inſtances like this ſufficiently prove it to be juſt, that the deſigns of a good and wiſe king muſt not be at all times, and in every ſituation, the ſame with thoſe of the people. The conſiderations which regulate popular opinions are ſeldom free from intereſt or paſſion, and never, or almoſt never, reach farther than the preſent. Thoſe who judge beſt are themſelves deceived by their own ſenſe of intereſt, and ſeem, one by one, to have determined, though they will not confeſs, and perhaps do not know it, to procure their own ſatisfaction, without any care about the future. 1604.

This corruption ariſes from the deſire of preſent happineſs, a deſire natural to man; and unhappily it falls out in government as in policy, that there may be juſt reaſons for deferring this completion of felicity for ten, twenty, or fifty years, and ſometimes for a longer time. What means can be contrived to make this delay not offenſive to the common people, and even to thoſe who, tho' they have more knowledge, have the ſame paſſions with the vulgar. The caſe is otherwiſe with a wiſe and good king, or with a miniſter who repreſents him, and performs the acts of government. His inclinations, it is true, ought to be directed to the good of the ſubjects, but he always knows, that by catching too ſoon at happineſs it is almoſt always miſſed, and that there is no proportion between the real evils into which men are plunged by ſuch miſtaken precipitations, and the vexations merely ideal

1604. ideal and imaginary, which are complained of by thoſe that think they want ſomething. Happy is the public when it is governed by ſuch principles of policy, as put it in the way to tranquility; all regard to ſhort-liv'd and tranſitory advantage is caſt aſide in conſideration of general good, and a wiſe king is not leſs a father of thoſe ſubjects who ſhall live at the diſtance of three or four generations, than of thoſe who live in his own time; and conſiders the falſe tenderneſs which he might have ſhewn to his own time, at the expence of ſucceeding ages, as the partiality of a father in favour of ſome of his children, which is to end in the ruin of his family.

The ſcheme, which Henry had formed for the intereſt of his kingdom, making it neceſſary that he ſhould take all meaſures to encreaſe his revenues, inſtead of making all thoſe defalcations about which ſome who pretended great zeal for his ſervice were continually talking to him, he required my private advice. The advance which I had made in the knowledge of the finances enabled me to diſcover ſome ſources of large profit which would very little burthen the people; of theſe I put nine into a memorial which I preſented to his majeſty, as follows.

1. The contractors who in late times managed the chief farms of the revenue, had, under pretence of ſeveral employments which they repreſented as neceſſary, miſapplied the money which they had received, and made thoſe ſums paſs in their accounts, to the ruin of the exchequer, which was repreſented as having received them, though not a penny came to it. By this article alone the crown was robbed of ſeveral millions. Of theſe accounts and details I therefore demanded an exact reviſal, that I might lay hold on the contractors, who had not been able ſo completely to conceal themſelves under the different names by which they carried on their robberies, but that I ſhould be able to trace them.

2. The

2. The clergy of France had, by the mouths of the cardinals, archbiſhops, and biſhops, accuſed Caſtille, their receiver-general, of having detained their money. The petition which had been preſented to me, was accompanied with an account of the articles of accuſation ſo poſitively and clearly ſtated, that nothing remained but that the king ſhould reclaim the immenſe ſum which the receiver appeared to have embezzled. 1604.

3. All the managers of the finances, and the people of buſineſs, particularly the treaſurers of France, who had contributed much to the ruin of the finances, might be aſſociated with Caſtille, by the erection of a chamber of juſtice; which muſt produce great advantages, if private intrigues and ſecret artifices could be kept out, by which theſe enquiries are often defeated.

4. The abuſes in the alienation of the king's lands were ſo groſs, that many of thoſe who had them in their hands held them by mere uſurpation, without any title; and the others had them at a price ſo ſcandalouſly low, that they were repaid by the income of the very firſt year at ſix *per cent.* which was the intereſt then current. Of this I made his majeſty fully ſenſible, who would not ſuffer theſe alienations to be exactly verified, that he might be drawn to conſent to the reſumption of all thoſe poſſeſſions, or to ſome meaſures for obliging the poſſeſſors to pay the true price.

5. In the other offices and employments there was the ſame corruption to be removed by the ſame means; the perſons in poſſeſſion were to be obliged to ſupply the deficiencies of their firſt payment in proportion to their ſalaries, or to give back their employments for the ſame ſum for which they had purchaſed them.

6. The debts due to the Swiſs Cantons were, by a bad regulation, ſo far from being leſſened, that they had been always encreaſing. I had already made ſuch an alteration in that part of our affairs,

1604. that by the ſeaſonable payment of one million, I had obtained an acquittance of eight; half of it reckoned to the principal and half to the arrears; and by taking the ſame method with the reſt, the public was ſoon cleared of that debt.

7. As it was eaſy for the king to recover the poſſeſſion of the crown lands that were alienated, ſo it was of great advantage to him to alienate I know not how many little parts of them, conſiſting in ground-rents, and particular claims, of which the expences for repairs, leaſes, and receiving, ſometimes under pretence of proſecutions, ſometimes, of drawbacks, and improvements, were riſen, by the connivance of the treaſurers of the finances, who alone made their advantage of them, to ſuch a prodigious heighth, that according to a calculation which I made, by reckoning ten years, one with another, a fifth part muſt have been added, before a ſingle penny could come to the king. This was the chief ſource of plunder to the officers of the revenue. By alienating all theſe parts at the rate for money ſettled by the laſt edict, the king would be more than doubly a gainer, becauſe he might buy with the money which this rate would bring in, thoſe parts of this revenue which were mortgaged at ten *per cent.*

8. The profit was yet greater with reſpect to the reſumption of the royal revenues that had been alienated; ſome of the contractors had offered me to purchaſe them back to the king for forty millions, without obliging him to repay any part of the ſum, provided he would let them take their choice of the part to be purchaſed, and allow them to enjoy them for a certain number of years, after which they would reſtore them to the crown clear of all debts and incumbrance. The king, inſtead of accepting their propoſal, had nothing to do but to get himſelf the money which they would have gotten by the bargain.

9. France had in her hand the infallible means of drawing to herſelf all the commerce of the Ocean and

and Mediterranean, and to ſee them, without any great expence, in the middle of her provinces: all this would coſt her nothing but the labour of cutting a canal from the Seine to the Loire, from the Loire to the Saone, and from the Saone to the Meuſe*; and the firſt glance of this project preſents us with more than two millions a year, which we ſhould get from Spain alone, and which would be real and ſolid wealth, as all that is which is produced by commerce. 1604.

I entered into a long ſeries of particulars, when I gave in my report to the king; and I accompanied it with a paper, in which I cleared up the reality of ſome of the revenues which were not compriſed in theſe articles. The prince, who certainly expected a very different ſcheme, and whoſe natural livelineſs of temper kept him from attending to my diſcourſe ſo cloſely as was neceſſary, raiſed at firſt a

* Before the duke of Sully came into the miniſtry, it had never been thought of in France to derive any advantage from the rivers; to which, nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, the kingdom is indebted for its wealth and commerce. He began with the canal of Briare, but was not able to proceed farther. Perhaps nothing will contribute ſo much to render the reign of Lewis the Great immortal, as that wonderful canal for joining the two ſeas: the great benefits reſulting to the nation from theſe undertakings, ſo happily executed, paſſing over the example Holland affords us, points out to us what remains to be farther done, and at the ſame time proves, that however difficult attempts of this nature may appear, they are yet far from being impoſſible.

The joining rivers, and making roads, which render the communication either of different provinces, or different parts of the ſame province, more eaſy and commodious, are perhaps the two moſt important objects to which a wiſe government can apply its attention in time of peace; and by employing the ſoldiery, who are at ſuch times uſeleſs, or that prodigious number of beggars, who are always ſo, in performing works of this nature, they will be executed at a moderate expence. Idleneſs, which generally makes beggars and vagabonds turn thieves and robbers, at the ſame time will be baniſhed from the nation, and commerce introduced into every part of it.

It is neceſſary there ſhould be ſome principal center for the riches of a nation; but nevertheleſs other cities ſhould not fall a ſacrifice to the capital; which being in the body politic, what the heart is in the human body, conſtantly receiving the blood, and as conſtantly propelling it, even to the moſt extreme parts, they cannot be deprived of it without bringing a languor on the whole machine. Much trouble might be ſaved in ſtudying the nature of thoſe ſecret ſprings which give motion to the moſt minute branches of commerce, were due attention given to that ſimple and obvious principle, of only ſupplying the country people with the means of living in eaſe and plenty.

1604. thouſand difficulties to all my deſigns; he ſaid, that indeed the ſchemes were great, but ſome of them were wild and unſettled; others of no great profit; ſome difficult to be executed, and ſome hard to be made conſiſtent with each other. All this was becauſe he did not underſtand them. I knew well enough what his majeſty was wanting, and what propoſal would have ſuited his inclination: an augmentation of the cuſtoms, creation of new offices, or a further alienation of his crown lands: if I would have ſhewn him a ſcheme which I had myſelf drawn up upon theſe means of raiſing money, I might have brought fourſcore millions of ready coin into his coffers; beſides ſixty millions more, by letting a leaſe of five millions a year, to which I had raiſed ſix of his farms above their former value. But I eaſily brought the king to allow, that though theſe methods were eaſily practicable, they were at the ſame time very burthenſome to the people; that we ought not to have recourſe to them but in the moſt preſſing exigences; and that the leiſure of a time of peace ſhould be employed in carrying on meaſures that required more time and application. Such were the nine ſchemes that I had laid before him, of which I aſſured him, that although he ſeemed to rate them at ſo little, yet if they were ſkilfully managed and brought on one after another, they would in time make him richer than he was by two hundred millions.

The king fell into my opinion, and we determined to begin by the re-eſtabliſhment of the public revenue, when I had ſhewn, by good extracts and authentic papers out of the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and other offices, that this regulation would, without the leaſt injuſtice, bring ſix millions into the royal treaſury. He engaged in this afterwards ſo warmly, that he ſhewed the higheſt impatience to begin, and never writ me a letter in which he did not mention it. To ſucceed in this, I thought it neceſſary that a new council or office ſhould be erected: to this an oppoſition was made by the

chamber of accounts, but no regard was had to their arguments. This council was compoſed of Chateau-neuf, Calignon, and Jeannin, the preſidents De Thou and Tambonneau alternately, and of Rebours; a treaſurer, and a regiſter, who were Le-Gras, and Regnouard; and I was the chief of it, and preſent at it as often as my other buſineſs would give me leave; but whether I was there or not every thing went forward according to a ſcheme which I had drawn as the rule * of their operations. All our proceedings would be tedious to relate; it is ſufficient to ſay, that I had made a clear and exact diſtinction between the grants made at different times and from different funds; ſome had been bought for the payment of the third part of their price in ready money, ſome for half, others for the whole ſum; there were ſome that had coſt their poſſeſſors very little, ſome were obtained by mere fraud, and others honeſtly procured; theſe laſt were never touched otherwiſe than to ſettle them more ſecurely according to their original condition; as for the reſt, according to the degree of fraud and injuſtice with which they had been procured, we either ſtruck them entirely off, or ordered the full purchaſe to be paid; there were ſome, of which the poſſeſſors were obliged to pay back the arrears, which they had ſo unjuſtly got into their poſſeſſion; and others, who for having embezzled the arrears were obliged to deduct them from the principal, which it was ſo much eaſier to pay off. The public gained another advantage, by ſuppreſſing a number of receivers of the revenue, who were an uſeleſs burden upon it, and of whom I left only one remaining. 1604.

The enquiry which I had ſchemed out againſt monopolizers and officers of the revenue was afterwards carried on by the erection of a chamber of juſtice; but as the corrupt management of ſolicitation

* A more particular detail is given of theſe regulations in the old Memoirs; thoſe concerned in the revenue may there have an opportunity of conſulting them.

1604. and interceſſion was not cut off, nothing was produced, but the common conſequence, the chief criminals eſcaped, and thoſe who were leſs conſiderable ſuffered all the ſeverity of the law: ſome remedy was found for this abuſe, at leaſt in the time immediately following my enquiry; for I took great care, that when any man was found guilty of corruption he ſhould be immediately puniſhed. Exact information was given of thoſe that were committed at Rouen. Mankind now began to give to all theſe ſtrokes of art the name that they deſerved; and thoſe unlawful gains which had ſo long impoveriſhed France, and enriched the officers of the revenue, were treated, without ceremony, as robbery and rapine; and honeſty began to ſhew her head in a ſanctuary where ſhe had never reſided before.

The treaſurers of France having this year preſented their accounts full of blanks for nonpayment, I could think of no better method to cure them of a practice which I very much ſuſpected of diſhoneſty, than to aſſign them theſe pretended blanks for the payment of their next year's wages. The removal of Drouart, whoſe place was given to Montauban, and ſome other ſtrokes of the ſame kind, taught the chief of theſe men of buſineſs to do their duty, and to do it well. By a decree paſſed againſt one Le-Roi, they were forbidden, under a penalty of an hundred thouſand livres, to take any foreigner as a partner in the king's farms. This decree was declared in the name of Charles Du-Han, farmer general of the five great farms, to the chief perſons intereſted in the revenue, and the other farms of the king at Paris, and the other principal cities in the kingdom.

I complained to the king of an invaſion made by the parliament of Toulouſe on his authority, by forbidding any corn to be carried out of the province of Languedoc. I was informed of this by the treaſurers of the province, becauſe it threatened the ruin of the foreign cuſtoms, the farmers of which demanded a very

very conſiderable abatement: it likewiſe reduced both the galleys and the garriſons into difficulties, as they were generally victualled from that part of the kingdom. 1604.

The four hundred thouſand livres raiſed by augmenting the taille, into which half of the tax of a penny in the ſhilling had been changed, continued ſtill to be paid; as likewiſe the other half, laid upon merchandiſes: though the edict by which theſe taxes were eſtabliſhed was ſettled but for two years. The officers of the revenue made repreſentations to the king upon this account: they complained of the low value to which certain farms were fallen which depended upon commerce with Spain, by the prohibition of that trade, as well as by the multiplicity of edicts daily iſſued by the council, and which they repreſented as more dangerous to the public, than the taille itſelf. I allow, for my part, that their complaints were juſt, and had myſelf remonſtrated to the king long before them. He had written two letters upon this ſubject, one to the council, in which he ſhewed them, that the preſent ſtate of affairs, and particularly the armament of Spain, did not allow him to make any abatement in his revenues for the preſent year; and the other to me, to prevail upon the council to come into his opinion.

I gave him what aſſiſtance was in my power, as grand maſter of the ordnance. The areſenal was at that time ſtored with an hundred pieces of cannon; there were in the galleries, ſmall arms for fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; and in the Temple and at the Baſtile, were two millions of pounds of powder, and a hundred thouſand bullets. I remember, that one day as Henry was walking with me in the Arſenal, he ſeemed alarmed at the number and power of the enemies that threatened him: but I ſhewed him the formidable ſtore, by which he would be able to bring them all to terms. He then demanded a liſt of his arms, ammunition, and artillery, with a ſummary account of his ready

1604. money, and what could be added to it, in the years 1605 and 1606. He entered into my cabinet, and made my ſecretaries write theſe minutes, that he might have them always in his pocket.

The regulation and diſcipline of the ſoldiers was an article of government moſt neceſſary to be conſidered in order to its reformation. It is hard to conceive, that, in a nation which from its firſt eſtabliſhment has been engaged in war, and has indeed purſued no other trade than that of arms, no care ſhould have been hitherto taken to form and methodiſe them. Whatever related to the ſoldiery of France, was offenfive and diſguſting. The foot ſoldiers were enliſted by violence, and made to march by a cudgel, their pay was unjuſtly withheld, they heard of nothing but a priſon, and had nothing before their eyes but a gibbet. This treatment drove them into all methods of deſertion, which was prevented only by the prevots, who kept them in their camp like men beſiged: the officers themſelves being ill paid, had ſome kind of right to violence and plunder. Henry would often ſay, and he ſpoke according to his own experience, that the public could never be well ſerved, till the troops were put into another ſtate.

The firſt point, on which this new regulation muſt depend, was exactneſs of payments, which the king began by ſettling it ſo, that, for the future, it could neither be delayed, nor the money appointed for it applied to any other uſe. This regulation was followed by another equally juſt and equally proper to reconcile the mind to the trade of arms: by this there was a proviſion made for the relief of ſoldiers, when, by wounds or ſickneſs contracted in the ſervice, they were unable to live either by war or labour: things were managed ſo, that, in this ſtate of miſery, they wanted nothing, either for their maintenance or their cure *.

* By the king's edict, dated the 7th of July 1605 (for poſſibly this affair could not be concluded till the year after) his majeſty granted to the gentlemen, officers, and ſoldiers diſabled in his ſervice, the

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The liberty with which I have expreſſed myſelf concerning the king's faults gives me a right to praiſe him for his good qualities. He was born with the virtues and method of œconomy, and therefore practiſed them without any conſtraint: particular details of buſineſs were to him merely an amuſement. Princes who engage perſonally in the adminiſtration of government, fall commonly into one of theſe two inconveniences; either they are incapable of ſubmitting to moderate views, or they cannot raiſe them to any heighth. The mind of Henry adapted itſelf with the ſame eaſe to things ſmall or great, of which his letters give ſufficient evidence, and a way that was then uſed of applying to him immediately, ſometimes for mere trifles, ſhews it ſtill more plainly. There had been long due two hundred and fifty crowns to a wine merchant of Giſors, who had formerly furniſhed the houſhold with wine. His majeſty ſent me to pay him, and to recompence him for the delay; "My conſcience, "ſays he, obliges me to pity that poor man." I have, perhaps, told too many of theſe kind of ſtories; but my book would make quite another kind of a figure, if I preſented to the public all the letters which the king wrote to me. 1604.

royal houſe of chriſtian charity, built with the money ariſing from the ſurplus of the accounts of hoſpitals, alms-houſes, and ſpitals for lepers, &c. and from the penſions of lay-monks, and the oblats *: the ſuperintendance of it belonged to the high conſtable of France. This eſtabliſhment has ſince been changed, or rather totally aboliſhed, by what Lewis the great ſubſtituted in its ſtead, in building and endowing the royal hoſpital of Mars, or the Invalids, a monument alone ſufficient to immortalize his memory. This houſe of chriſtian charity was before this only an hoſpital, without any revenue belonging to it, built by Henry III. for maimed ſoldiers; it ſtood in the ſuburbs of Saint Marcellus, in the ſtreet called rue du l'Ourſine, and was ready to fall down. Two years after, Henry IV. alſo cauſed the hoſpital of Saint Lewis to be built; for this purpoſe, he granted to the Hôtel Dieu, ten ſous on every minot † of ſalt, within the diſtrict of Paris, during fifteen years, and five ſous for ever.

* Lay-monks or oblats, were ſoldiers diſabled in the king's ſervice, who had the maintenance of a monk aſſigned to them on the revenues of an abbey, as a reward for their ſervice.

† A minot of ſalt contains four French buſhels, and is ſomething leſs than an Engliſh buſhel.

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1604. As to thoſe other ideas that had a higher object, either of intereſt, of glory, or public happineſs, the king never loſt ſight of them, either in his vexations or his pleaſures: that he might know whether my ideas agreed with his, he made many enquiries; and concluded at laſt, that I ſhould give him an enumeration of all thoſe things, by which I thought the glory of a powerful kingdom might be deſtroyed or ſullied. I thought there was no better way of complying with his intention, than that of preſenting him a ſketch, written with ſuch ſimplicity, and with ſo few uſeleſs ornaments of ſtyle, that he might at once glance it over: it contained an enumeration, without proof or expoſition, of thoſe abuſes which commonly find their way into public affairs. I here lay it before my readers, to whom it may ſerve as a compendium of the principles, which they have ſeen, and muſt expect to ſee, diffuſed through theſe Memoirs.

The cauſes of the ruin or decline of monarchies are exorbitant ſubſidies, monopolies, chiefly thoſe relating to corn; neglect of merchandiſe, trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactories; the great number of public employments, the fees, and exceſſive authority of men in office; the coſt, the delay, and the injuſtice of tribunals; idleneſs, luxury, and all that is connected with it, debauchery and corruption of manners, confuſion of ranks, changes of the value of money, unjuſt and imprudent wars, the deſpotic power of ſovereigns, their blind adherence to particular perſons, their prejudice in favour of particular conditions or profeſſions; the greedineſs of miniſters and favourites, the degradations of perſons of quality; contempt and neglect of men of letters; the connivance at bad cuſtoms, and infraction of good laws; an obſtinate adherence to cuſtoms, either miſchievous or indifferent; and the multiplicity of edicts and uſeleſs regulations.

If I was to chuſe among all the forms of government, of which this monarchy has furniſhed examples,

ples, I ſhould propoſe Clovis, Charlemagne, Philip the auguſt, and Charles * the ſage; and I ſhould wiſh that the eye might never fall ſo low, as upon the reign of Charles VIII. and our times; and if I was to eſtabliſh a ſingle principle of government, it ſhould be this, *That good laws and good manners produce each other.* But ſuch is our unhappineſs, that we never perceive this valuable connexion, till corruptions and abuſes have been carried together to the higheſt points; ſo that among men, the principle of good ariſes always from the extremity of evil. 1604.

The regulations, for the augmentation and ſecuring of commerce, appearing to Henry to be of the firſt importance to the public, he laid out the greateſt part of his care upon them. The project of the canal for joining the Seine to the Loire † being rati-

* It would perhaps have been ſtill better, to have alſo rejected the three firſt of theſe, and kept only to Charles V. On examining the characters of Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, we ſhall find the one acted on the principles of a Roman, the other on thoſe of a true Spartan: the maxims here laid down diſcover a mixture of both theſe principles. I have obſerved before, what correctives were neceſſary to modify the too auſtere temper of the duke of Sully: I ſhall here take the ſame liberty with the too warlike diſpoſition of Henry IV. A military ſpirit is undoubtedly neceſſary to defend a ſtate; it ought therefore to be nouriſhed with the utmoſt care; but it ſhould notwithſtanding be kept in the ſame ſtate we do a maſtiff, for the defence of our houſe, that is, chained up, and very ſeldom indulged with the liberty of purſuing its own courſe, leſt it ſhould turn upon its maſters and tear them to pieces. The reputation alone of courage produces almoſt the ſame effect as the exertion of it can. It may be laid down as a principle, that there are no means but what are preferable to war, if the ſame end can be obtained by them.

† This is the canal of Briare, which from that little town runs to Montargis, about ten leagues diſtant from it. It was to have been continued to Moret: but this part of the deſign was left unexecuted, and the canal itſelf was neglected, after more than three hundred thouſand crowns had been laid out upon it, through the malice of thoſe who envied M. de Roſny, or, according to Mezerai, through the change that happened in the miniſtry. This work was far advanced at that time; it has ſince been reſumed, and at length finiſhed. M. De Thou beſtows great commendation on M. de Sully, for being the inventor of this deſign, b. cxxxii. A further proof of this may be drawn from the ſilver and copper plates, or a kind of medals found in 1737, when they were at work on the ſluices in this canal, and which it was certainly wrong to take from thence. The count of Buron, one of the parties intereſted in this canal, ſent the copies,

1604. fied, I removed myſelf to thoſe parts, that there might be no miſtake in the preparations that were previous to the execution; whether in taking heights, or levelling the ground, or laying hold of any advantages that might occur. I ſpent but little time in this journey, for the king recalled me as ſoon almoſt as I was gone. In the like manner I regulated ſeveral affairs of commerce in the journey I made to Poitou, as has been already related.

Of theſe affairs, the moſt important and moſt perplexing, was an unforeſeen quarrel which happened this year with Spain, concerning the mutual traffic carried on between the two nations. The king of Spain had, in the preceding year, laid a duty of thirty *per cent.* upon all French goods imported to Spain or Flanders; as likewiſe upon all goods exported from theſe two ſtates into France; a heavy impoſition, which was at once an inſult upon our nation, and tended to revolt the minds of his own ſubjects. The king returned it by expreſly prohibiting all commerce with the ſubjects of Spain, and the arch-dutchies, and by a duty ſtill larger upon all the Spaniſh goods landed at Calais: but this prohibition could not prevent the fraudulent carriage of our proviſions to the enemy's country. The French merchants, notwithſtanding the new monopoly, ſtill found there were ſuch great profits to be made on our grain and other goods, from the ſcarcity of them in Spain, that they expoſed themſelves, for thoſe profits, to all the rigour of the law; and, on that account, there was a kind of ſedition raiſed in the city of Marſeille, of which the preſident Du-Vair ſent immediate notice to the court. The mer-

per ones to the preſent duke of Sully, which are now in the duke's cabinet of medals, but kept the ſilver ones on account of their value. One of theſe copper medals is charged with the duke of Sully's arms, and another bears this inſcription: 'I607. Maximilian de 'Bethune, under the reign of Henry 'IV. by the hands of Meſſire Peter 'Ozon, at this time mayor and go-'vernor of Montargis-le-Franc.' The duke of Sully has alſo lately recovered part of the memorials and other writings relating to this canal.

chants

chants of this city loſt all patience, when they found themſelves obliged to ſit idle and inactive, while the Italians came and carried away their proviſions, and deprived them of their uſual profits. This permiſſion, which was granted by his majeſty to the Italians, was, in my opinion, ill judged. 1604.

The Engliſh were pleaſed at this new incident; and ſo far were they from endeavouring to accommodate the affair, that they ſecretly ſtrove to make it worſe, becauſe they carried on the ſame trade fraudulently, which the Italians were authoriſed to do. It was diſcovered, that eight or nine Engliſh veſſels had taken in their loadings of grain at Olone, and went from thence to Saint Sebaſtian, to diſembark them: this, doubtleſs, was the reſource the Spaniards depended upon, otherwiſe their prohibition would have fallen heavy upon themſelves, which Henry, from the beginning, had flattered himſelf would happen: and it was the hope, that Spain would ſuffer more from it than we, joined to his ſolicitude to maintain the honour of his crown, that it might not be ſaid his enemies could diſpoſe of its commerce, which made him ſtill require a ſtrict obſervation of the prohibition he had publiſhed. He commanded me to ſend a perſon of probity and underſtanding, to viſit all that part of the country, from the mouth of the Loire to the Garonne, and all along the borders of theſe two rivers, to ſee that this ordonnance was punctually obeyed; and he was empowered to puniſh all that ſhould be found to have acted contrary to it; thoſe being generally the places where ſuch illegal practices were carried on. I gave this commiſſion to La-Font, who executed it ſo well, that his majeſty kept him afterwards about his own perſon.

Henry, at the ſame time, ordered his ambaſſador in England, to complain to king James, of the practices of his ſubjects; and to give him to underſtand, that, if he made peace with Spain, with a view to appropriate to himſelf the trade we carried on

1604. on with that kingdom, he would take ſuch meaſures that France ſhould not ſuffer alone, but that England ſhould loſe more by it than her. This was tacitly to deſire, that he would offer his mediation to compoſe the difference between the two crowns; for Henry thought it probable that the king of England might be tempted by the apparent advantage of ſuch an acceſſion to the trade of his kingdom, as to make peace with Spain; and he was now ſenſible, though too late, of the injury he had done himſelf, and that the arguments his council had made uſe of were all falſe: this threw him into great perplexity. Villeroi and Sillery were appointed by his majeſty, to attend this affair with the utmoſt aſſiduity; and I likewiſe was ordered to confer about it with the conſtable, the chancellor, the commandeur de Chaſtes, and vice-admiral De-Vic.

We found many difficulties to ſtruggle with on both ſides. Trade muſt neceſſarily ſuffer great injury, if the prohibition remained in force; and if repealed, great ſhame muſt reflect upon the crown. Henry could not reſolve to do any thing that, in his opinion, ſeemed to acknowledge his fears of Spain, which had not condeſcended to take any ſtep that led towards an accommodation with him; and all that could be hoped for from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty was, that, although he ſuffered the prohibition to remain in force, he would wink at the infringement of it by the merchants, that he might be at liberty to repeat it again if they too openly abuſed this indulgence, to the prejudice of the royal authority: as for me, the wound that was given to trade, was the only thing almoſt that I conſidered; therefore, on this account, England and Spain were equal to me; and I repreſented to his majeſty, that the damage we muſt inevitably ſuſtain, made it neceſſary that he ſhould uſe no more ſeverity with the one than the other.

The king of England did not refuſe his mediation in this difference; he even offered to engage for the faithful performance of the promiſes both parties ſhould make on this occaſion: but he affected to act as an arbitrator between the two crowns; and the king, offended with his vanity, would not accept of his mediation, but in the quality of a common friend. The pope likewiſe began to intereſt himſelf greatly in the diſpute, being apprehenſive that a more dangerous rupture might enſue between France and Spain. He wrote to cardinal Bufalo, his nuncio in France, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it; and this cardinal, a ſhort time afterwards, found a favourable opportunity to obey him. 1604.

The count of Beaumont, who ſtill continued to be our ambaſſador at the court of London, had often mentioned the late diſpute concerning our trade, in the preſence of the counts de Villa-mediana and d'Aremberg, the one ambaſſador from the king of Spain, the other from the archdukes; and had even drawn up a kind of an agreement with their concurrence, together with that of the preſident Richardot, and Lewis Vroreylzen, which had been communicated to the conſtable of Caſtile, who was likewiſe at London: but his ſudden departure, together with ſome other difficulties that came in the way, hindered this matter from proceeding ſo far as to get the preliminary of this agreement ſigned. The conſtable of Caſtile paſſed through Paris, and had an interview there with cardinal Bufalo, who preſſed him ſo earneſtly, and upon ſo many motives concerning this affair, that he obtained a promiſe from him that it ſhould be referred to the examination of ſome commiſſioners, whom he named for the king his maſter: the council of France appointed ſome on their ſide. But this method of proceeding was not likely to bring the affair to a concluſion, which, by being ſubmitted to ſo many arbitrators, was protracted to an inſufferable length. Bufalo prevailed upon Don Baltaſar Stuniga, the Spaniſh

1604. Spaniſh ambaſſador in France, and upon Alexander Rovidius, a ſenator of Milan, who were intereſted in a cauſe for one of the parties, to refer every thing relating to it to him; this done, that the buſineſs might on the ſide of the other party be wholly conſigned to one perſon, he deſired the king to give me a power equal to his, and without any adjunct: from that time, the affair was thought to be in great forwardneſs. I went to viſit the cardinal, and animated his zeal by a new incitement, telling him, that we were upon the point of declaring war, and that his majeſty was buſied in making great preparations for it. In a few days I prevailed upon him to agree to the articles I had drawn up, by which the freedom of trade was ſecured: theſe articles were almoſt the ſame with thoſe that had been propoſed and diſcuſſed at London.

The ſubſtance of this treaty, for ſuch it became afterwards, although every thing had been agreed on only between cardinal Bufalo and myſelf, was, that the edict of thirty *per cent.* and that for the ſuſpenſion of trade between the two crowns of France and Spain, ſhould be and continue repealed; this was the great point. But the two princes having both endeavoured to juſtify their conduct by many reciprocal complaints againſt each other, which likewiſe related to the trade of their kingdoms; many other articles were added, that tended to remove theſe grievances.

It was ſpecified, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould publiſh an edict, forbidding all his ſubjects either to export or authoriſe the exportation of any Dutch goods into Spain, or any ſtate under the dominion of that crown, by lending veſſels, waggons, or any other ſort of carriages; that the real French goods ſhould be ſtamped with the ſeal of the city which furniſhed them, and ſhould be inſerted in a regiſter: this was done with a view to obviate the inconveniences which might ariſe from a reſemblance in the goods, which otherways ſhould be liable to confiſca-

confiſcation; but they were not upon a bare ſuſpi- 1604.
cion of fraud to ſtop or retard the exportation of theſe goods; that all the Dutch, who were taken in French veſſels, ſhould be ſeized; that the French ſhould not carry Spaniſh goods into any part of the Low Countries, but thoſe that ſhould be ſpecified in the bills; and that, to prevent any breach of faith, they ſhould enter into an obligation in writing before the Spaniſh magiſtrate of the place from whence they ſet out, to pay the thirty *per cent.* which obligation ſhould be returned to them upon their bringing back, within a year, a certificate from the magiſtrate of the place where they diſembarked, either in France, or in any part of Flanders where trade was permitted; that the king of France ſhould order all Spaniſh goods to be ſeized, which were brought by his ſubjects in Spain, to be carried into any of the prohibited places, half of which ſhould be given to the informer, the thirty *per cent.* deducted: that the French magiſtrate, who ſhould be convicted of having given falſe certificates of diſcharge, ſhould be proſecuted and puniſhed; and that the two kings ſhould mutually engage to leave the places of paſſage free. The article of the impoſts, which, ever ſince the peace of Vervins, were laid upon goods carried from Spain to Flanders, or from Flanders to Spain through Calais, and when they entered this port, having been already ſettled in the preſence of this cardinal, nothing remained to be added to it. It was ſtipulated, that, forty days after the date of this treaty, it ſhould be publiſhed in the reſpective ſtates on the ſame day: it was dated the 12th of October, and ſigned at firſt only by cardinal Bufalo and me*.

* See the treaty itſelf in the Chronologie Septennaire. The king gives the marquis de Roſny no other titles in it but that of great maſter and captain-general of the ordnance of France. Cardinal Bufalo did not ſign it, but only meſſieurs de Roſny and de Sillery; Don Balthazar de Cuniga, for the king of Spain; and the ſenator Rovidius Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 655.

1604. Although I was very ſure that Henry would approve of this treaty, as he had been firſt conſulted upon every article in it, yet I was apprehenſive of the cavils of Sillery and the other commiſſioners, from whom the cogniſance of this affair had been taken: the expedient I made uſe of therefore was, to ſend Arnaud the elder with the articles to Sillery, with a civil requeſt that he would give me his opinion of them. Sillery, without looking into them, anſwered, quick, that the affair was in very good hands, and that the perſon who had tranſacted it alone might alſo conclude it alone. This anſwer would not ſatisfy me; I ſent Arnaud back again to tell him, that it appeared to me neceſſary that the treaty ſhould be ſigned by him and the other commiſſioners firſt named, and that I entreated he would come to my houſe and ſign it; but that if he refuſed, I could not diſpenſe with myſelf from ſending the treaty to his majeſty by Arnaud; letting him know at the ſame time, that the difficulty he made in ſigning it would delay the concluſion for two days: and this was no more than the truth. Sillery, being afraid that if any accident ſhould happen during this interval that might prevent this agreement on trade from taking effect, he ſhould be anſwerable for it, went to cardinal Bufalo's houſe and ſigned the treaty, as did alſo Villeroi.

The king, when he received a copy of theſe articles, confirmed by theſe free ſignatures, beſtowed great praiſes on the cardinal nuncio, and made him a preſent of a croſs of diamonds; he recommended him to the Pope, in a letter which was conceived in terms very advantageous for him, and honoured him with the diſtinction of eating at his table. His majeſty would not publiſh the treaty of commerce till the ratification of it arrived from Spain, but he ſecretly permitted the exportation of grain, which was what the people ardently deſired.

About this time another treaty was concluded at London between England and Spain, in which

France could not avoid intereſting herſelf greatly, after what had paſſed the preceding year between her and England. To be thoroughly informed of this treaty, it is neceſſary to repreſent the affairs, both political and military, in Spain and Flanders, with which thoſe of England have in this reſpect an unavoidable connection. 1604.

The ſiege of Oſtend continued ſtill to be carried on with the ſame obſtinacy by the Spaniards: in the mean time, the prince of Orange, at the beginning of the campaign, attacked the iſle of Cadſan, which he made himſelf maſter of on the 10th of May, and afterwards of all the neighbouring forts, deſigning to open himſelf a way from thence to the frontier of Calais; and at length laid ſiege to Sluys. From Bruges the king received advices, that the archduke, who beheld this attempt with grief, was gone to aſſemble fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men, with whom he hoped to ſuccour this place, by ſtorming Ardembourg, which covered it; but that Maurice had ſo well intrenched himſelf there, that it was not believed he could be forced out, provided he had a ſufficient number of men to guard his intrenchments: the Flemiſh general took likewiſe the precaution to carry his trenches as far as Ardembourg, that if he ſhould be obliged to draw off his troops from the operations of the ſiege, he might be in a condition to reduce the place by famine, if he could not by force. Sluys ſurrendered on the 10th of Auguſt.

The Spaniards, animated by the vigorous reſiſtance of their enemies, and a ſenſe of the prodigious loſſes they had ſuffered before Oſtend, thought their honour ſtill more concerned after this ſucceſs of the prince of Orange, to prevent their being foiled in an enterpriſe which laſted ſo long. De-Vic informed his majeſty by D'Auval, who was returned from England, that he had cauſed three mines to be blown up before Oſtend, but without ſucceſs: however, it is certain, that Oſtend was reduced to the laſt extre-

1604. mity; the Spaniards boaſted that they would take it before the end of July; and that they ſhould ſtill have time to go and deliver Sluys with all their forces re-united. No one gave credit to this boaſt, eſpecially when Perſi le riche, captain of the regiment of Nereſtan, who came lately from that place, ſaid poſitively at Paris, that it would ſtill hold out ſix weeks or two months. In effect Sluys ſurrendered before Oſtend, for the Flemiſh defended themſelves with a courage that has few examples: they were ſeconded by a reinforcement of eleven companies, which made up between a thouſand and twelve hundred men, all freſh, which had been juſt ſent them by the States, under the conduct of general Marquette. They fell upon an expedient to make an inner intrenchment, which might enable them, when reduced to a neceſſity of capitulation, to obtain more advantageous terms, by holding out there; and they found means, preſſed as they were, to throw in ammunition and money.

This was a new and ſurpriſing ſpectacle for all Europe, that a little ſtate, which forms but a ſcarce perceptible point in the map, ſhould dare to raiſe her head from the midſt of her marſhes, and brave, during ſo long a time, the formidable power of Spain. It is wonderful to think where they found forces, or funds to pay them, for it was computed that this war coſt the States twenty thouſand florins a day; the perplexities to which they were often reduced were not indeed known; they hardly any longer knew to whom they ſhould have recourſe, and were obliged to apply to every one for relief. The duke of Bouillon having promiſed them a ſum of money, they ſent captain Sarroques to receive it; but he came back without any thing, but the regret of having put his maſters to the expence of four or five thouſand florins, which their compliments to princeſs of Orange coſt them.

Henry was their uſual reſource: ſometimes they requeſted an hundred thouſand crowns; at other times,

times, two hundred thouſand weight of powder, for they conſumed great quantities of it: there was no end of their demands. Buzenval, whom his majeſty ordered to reſide in thoſe cantons, to give him an account of all that paſſed, was of great uſe to them in ſupporting their ſolicitations with the king, who at length was the only power that continued to be their friend, when all the others had abandoned them. The Dutch expreſſed great fondneſs for Buzenval, and kept him with them as it were by force when he was recalled home. And who indeed was there whom they did not ſooth, and endeavour to engage in their intereſts? They would have made me a very conſiderable preſent, but Buzenval, whom they acquainted with their deſign, aſſured them I would not accept of it: and they contented themſelves with offering me, by Aërſens, ſome curious pieces of ſhell-work, and ſome coach-horſes of their country for my wife. Henry ſhewed a readineſs to oblige them, which could not proceed from ſelf-intereſted motives, and which, with that people, ought to have given him the merit of one of the founders of their liberty. They muſt be ungrateful in the higheſt degree, if ever they abandon a crown to which they owe ſuch great obligations*. Henry wrote to me this year, when I was in Poitou, that Buzenval had made him new requeſts in favour of the States, which probably it was not prudent to grant; but that he could not reſolve to abandon them, whatever reports might be raiſed in England, or whatever threats Spain might throw out againſt him. 1604.

It is eaſy to judge what the preſent war muſt have coſt Spain, which was in effect the aſſailant, by what I have juſt related of the United Provinces, who kept themſelves merely upon the defenſive, and did not ſtir from their own doors; and of the re-

* Grotius ſpeaks of it almoſt in the ſame words, in his book, intituled, The annals and hiſtory of the troubles in the Netherlands.

1604. ſentment that Spain preſerved againſt us. The council of Madrid, enraged at the loſſes they ſuſtained by a war that had almoſt drained their treaſury, which, however, they concealed with the utmoſt care, often threatened never to forgive the treatment they received from the French. Henry affected to be ignorant of theſe threats, and he acted wiſely; the council by this impotent anger, ſhewed its own weakneſs; and it was well known in France, that his catholic majeſty's revenues were exhauſted.

Oſtend * was taken at length on the 22d of September, and Henry had the conſolation to ſee, that for five or ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which this expedition had coſt him every year ſince it firſt began, he had conſiderably advanced the ruin of his enemies the Spaniards.

It might reaſonably be expected, that the treaty I had negotiated with England the preceding year would have produced greater things. Spain was convinced that ſhe ſhould loſe Flanders entirely, if ſhe did not find means to make ſome change in thoſe diſpoſitions in which I had left the king of Great Britain. After my departure, therefore, from London, ſhe renewed her intrigues and ſolicitations to obtain at leaſt a neutrality in what concerned the United Provinces, if ſhe could not bring his Britannic majeſty over to her party. The Spaniards, at firſt, thought they ought to make very high demands; and afterwards their offers alſo were as high to procure a grant of part of thoſe demands. Their firſt propoſals were rejected without being examined; but theſe were followed by another, which gave them hopes that they ſhould prevail upon the Engliſh to abandon the Dutch, knowing they had nothing ſo much at heart; this was to make the Indian trade free to both nations. But this offer proved ineffectual, becauſe Spain, foreſeeing that there would

* See the ſurrender of Oſtend and Sluys, and the other actions of this campaign, in De Thou, the Septen. Matthieu, Siri, and other hiſtorians, an. 1604.

be

be ſtill a neceſſity of abating ſomething in her demands, added a condition that deſtroyed its force, and required, that England ſhould enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with her. The king of England's council having many ſtrong reaſons for rejecting this alliance, made no ſcruple to confeſs, that it was the intereſt of their crown to ſupport Holland, inſtead of openly taking part with her enemies. 1604.

It was now abſolutely believed, that the Spaniards had nothing to hope for from England: Beaumont was the only one who was of a contrary opinion, and foretold, that notwithſtanding all theſe apparent obſtacles they would come to an agreement, which in effect they did. The Spaniards, ſome time afterwards, returned to the charge, ſtill leſſening their demands according to their ſubtile maxims of policy, and commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides; the diſputes ran ſo high, that they were many times upon the point of breaking off the conference. The affair imperceptibly turned into a negociation more peaceable; the Engliſh commiſſioners reduced the Spaniſh ones not only to expreſs no reſentment againſt France, but they were the firſt to ſay, that ſhe ought not in any manner to be excluded. They never mentioned the two kings without joining the third to them; and even treated the States with reſpect and conſideration, appearing inclined to come to an agreement with them at all events. All this was done to conceal from his Britannic majeſty whatever was contrary in the real deſign of this negotiation to the firſt, and to remove all his ſcruples.

To this battery they joined the aſſiſtance of little anonymous writings, in which the authors endeavoured to prove, that peace was equally advantageous for the three kings. In one of theſe papers, which was ſuppoſed to be written by an Engliſhman, becauſe the power of the king of England was greatly exaggerated, who, ſays the author, can ſubſiſt independent of any other ſtate, tho' none

1604. without him: as if the Spaniards were not capable of ſo high a flight of flattery to ſecure the ſucceſs of their deſigns: in one of theſe papers, I ſay, it was maliciouſly inſinuated, that this peace was deſired with equal ardour by the three kings; but that their moſt Chriſtian and Britannic majeſties ſecretly wiſhed, at the ſame time, that it would give them a claim to the poſſeſſion of Flanders.

However, they could come to no agreement during the ſpace of a year; and it was not till the 21ſt of June this year that the negotiation was likely to ſucceed; but it went on rapidly at the beginning of July, and was ſo far advanced, that no one in England doubted of its being concluded, as ſoon as the conſtable of Caſtile arrived, who was upon the point of going to London in the quality of ambaſſador extraordinary from his Catholic majeſty, and furniſhed with full powers to conclude the peace: the ſame opinion prevailed in Paris; and it was even believed there, that not only England but the United Provinces, had ſecretly made conditions of agreement with Spain; and that the States, by the interpoſition and arbitration of his Britannic majeſty, had put an end to the diſputes on occaſion of the cautionary towns, the navigation of the Indies, the liberty of trading without paying thirty *per cent.* and others. But why, if this was ſo, did we not ſee the ſiege raiſed, and other hoſtilities ceaſe on both ſides?

This report, however, was abſolutely falſe, at leaſt with regard to the imaginary agreement and arbitration. The States perceived but too ſoon, and even while the conferences were ſubſiſting, that they had nothing more to expect from his Britannic majeſty. This prince became weary at length of ſtruggling ſo long with his inclinations; he affected to be the common friend of all Europe. He had lately given the name of Great Britain to his united kingdoms, and had made a ſolemn entry into London, where a conference was held by his orders

to reconcile the church party and the puritans; for his pacific notions extended to all things: he did not reflect, that by this conduct he was going to exclude from the benefit of a peace thoſe very perſons that had moſt need of it, who were the Dutch, whom he left to the mercy of their enemies. The Engliſh already began to abuſe every one of that nation whom they found trading in their ports; and when the Dutch alledged, as uſual, that the Engliſh ought not to concern themſelves with a certain kind of traffic upon their coaſts, they replied, that they had permiſſion to do it from the king of Spain their ſovereign. Nothing ſo irritated the Dutch as ſpeeches of that nature; and if the inhabitants of Fluſhing had been ſuffered, it is believed they would have murdered all the Engliſh they had amongſt them: but the fatal conſequences of ſuch a proceeding being repreſented to them, they reſtrained their rage. 1604.

The States had expected a quite different treatment, when, at the beginning of the conferences between the commiſſioners, his Britannic majeſty inſiſted that they ſhould be admitted, and their agent, the ſieur Le Caron, heard there. Le Caron acknowledged, that at firſt he had good reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Engliſh commiſſioners: upon the Spaniards introducing the ſubject of the Dutch cautionary towns, which they paſſionately deſired ſhould be put into their hands, the Engliſh told them, that they could do no otherwiſe than ſurrender theſe towns to the council of the United Provinces, when the money lent upon them was repaid: and when the Spaniards retorted, with ſome reſentment, that the reſtitution of them ought to be made to thoſe who had given them as hoſtages, the Engliſh counſellors only anſwered, that if the States refuſed to pay the money that was lent, they would make the ſame propoſal to the Spaniards. They were likewiſe favourable enough to the Dutch in the article concerning trade, which held

1604. held them a long time in diſpute; the Spaniards inſiſted, that Holland ſhould open to them the trade of the Flemiſh coaſt, and particularly that of Antwerp, which ſhe had, as it were, locked up, by building ſeveral forts upon the Scheld, and among others that of Iſſot: but the Engliſh ſoon cooled in theſe favourable intentions for their neighbours. Buzenval, whoſe letters furniſhed me with great part of what I have related concerning theſe conferences, judged thus of the event, that the Engliſh knew well what would be the conſequences of this new plan of politics which they had embraced; but that great jealouſy of us, and a little folly, had ſuggeſted all that had been done on this occaſion.

Matters were in this ſtate, when the king of England thought proper to inform his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, by his ambaſſador at the court of France, of his intention to conclude a treaty with Spain, the Engliſh ambaſſador preſenting the memorial to the king at the ſame time. His Britannic majeſty, in this memorial, perſiſted ſtill in the ſtrange opinion, that this treaty was not inconſiſtent with that of the preceding year. James had attempted to perſuade Beaumont to believe the ſame, and promiſed Henry that he would defer the concluſion of it till the diſputes which then ſubſiſted between the two crowns of France and Spain concerning trade were terminated. The commiſſioners, however, did not ſcruple to ſign the * treaty between Spain and England, and referred Beaumont to the arrival of the conſtable of Caſtile to ſettle the affair of the trade between this nation and Spain. The conſtable was applied to when he paſſed through Paris in his way to London; but he prevented, by obſtacles which he raiſed on purpoſe, the concluding upon any thing

* This treaty is no way different from a true treaty of peace: the kings of Spain and England engage their allies in it, that is, all the ſtates and princes of Chriſtendom, who are all named, except the United Provinces alone: it is ſet out at large in the Septen. an. 1604. Matthieu, 650, &c.

with

with cardinal Bufalo, who had already begun to intereſt himſelf in the affair. But what was ſtill more ſurpriſing, theſe commiſſioners, without giving Beaumont any ſatisfaction on that head, had the aſſurance to demand the impoſt on the port of Calais to be taken off. Beaumont, who knew it was his majeſty's intention to continue it, even after the affair of thirty *per cent.* was concluded, which had no relation to that, evaded the propoſal, by making one of the ſame nature to them. 1604.

The conſtable of Caſtile paſſed through France again the latter end of September, in his return to Spain, carrying with him the treaty concluded, and arrived at Paris juſt as the treaty of commerce was concluded there likewiſe. He demanded permiſſion, the next day, to pay his reſpects to the king, to whom he preſented himſelf with an air and countenance full of ſatisfaction; he made him a ſtudied compliment, which for that reaſon was perhaps the leſs ſincere; taking for his ſubject the two agreements lately made, he endeavoured to perſuade this prince, that France and Spain being the two moſt powerful monarchies of Chriſtendom, a ſtrict union between them was the neceſſary and infallible means of accompliſhing every enterprize they ſhould undertake in concert; he laid great ſtreſs upon the alliance which had at all times been between France and Caſtile; he dwelt upon the advantages of this aſſociation, which would give the ſame friends and enemies to the two crowns, and upon the means of rendering it indiſſoluble; which was, he ſaid, to be wholly free from all partiality; to diveſt themſelves of all jealouſy of authority and pre-eminence; to explain and determine, in an amicable manner, their pretenſions upon certain cantons and cities of Europe; he did not forget to inſinuate to his majeſty, that the proteſtants were enemies which policy required ſhould be humbled: he concluded his ſpeech with repreſenting to the king, the advantages that a double marriage between the children of the two kings

1604. kings muſt neceſſarily produce; a marriage which ſeemed (he ſaid) by the circumſtances of the times, to be already determined in heaven. He artfully aſſured the king, that he had no authority from his maſter for what he had ſaid on this ſubject, but entreated him to acquaint him with his ſentiments on it; becauſe, though they were only overtures made by himſelf, yet if they had the good fortune to be approved by his majeſty, he ſhould with the greater confidence propoſe them afterwards to the king his maſter.

I was not preſent at this diſcourſe, but the king came to the arſenal on purpoſe to give me an account of it. He ſtopped, after relating the Spaniard's propoſals, telling me he deſired to know what anſwer I ſhould have made to them, before he repeated that which he had given himſelf. I replied, with the ſame gaiety, that I could tell him immediately, but that I would defer ſatisfying him till the next day, that I might take time to conſider of it, and prevent him from accuſing me of precipitation, as he often did when my opinion had not the good fortune to pleaſe him. His majeſty conſented to it, ſmiling, and gave me a little tap on the cheek, as was his cuſtom when he was in good humour.

I went the next day to the Louvre, to acquit myſelf of my promiſe, and found the king walking upon the terras of the Capuchins; I told him, that if he ſtill remembered a ſentence which I had once applied to the Spaniards, and which he thought diverting enough, "that they preferred works * to "faith," he would not be long at a loſs to know what anſwer I would have made to their ambaſſador; that after ſo many breaches of faith, ſo many perjuries and violations of truth, with which Spain had diſhonoured herſelf in the ſight of all Europe,

* In alluſion to one of Calvin's doctrines, which is cenſured by the catholic church.

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the conſtable of Caſtile's diſcourſe would have ſeemed to me to be a new ſtratagem of the king of Spain, to break off the alliance between his majeſty and the United Provinces, and the other proteſtant powers his friends, that he might find a ſtill more favourable opportunity of invading his kingdom than his father had done. This being a fact of ſo atrocious a nature that no palliation of it ought even to be attempted, I recalled it to his remembrance, and added, but for England, Holland, the French and foreign proteſtants, but for his incredible labours and inceſſant fatigues, Spain had probably at this day talked to him in the ſtile of a maſter: that the council of Madrid, accuſtomed to profane all that is moſt ſacred in religion, abuſed the name of marriage, which had nothing binding enough in it to reſtrain their lawleſs attempts. And here I made an obſervation to Henry, which appeared to me to have great weight in it. 1604.

It was not, I told him, a ſtroke of ſuch wiſe policy as was generally believed, to marry the ſons of France into families almoſt equal to their own, ſuch as that of Spain *; for beſides that there was no alliance, however cloſe, but muſt yield to the hatred which ambition inſpires againſt a rival, the advantage that was expected from theſe unions might be deſtroyed by the very cauſe which made it too conſiderable: but it was quite different with marriages contracted with inferior families; from them, at leaſt, we might promiſe ourſelves all the aſſiſtance they are in a condition to give: the honour of an alliance with the moſt illuſtrious houſe in the world is too flattering for them not to make them contribute with all their power towards the ſupport of its grandeur, and the increaſe of its glory. Spain †,

* By this ſtroke of politics, France nevertheleſs gained the crown of Spain to the houſe of Bourbon, after the death of Charles II.

† "The houſe of Auſtria, ſaid "Guy-Patin, has gained great in-"heritances, *per lanceam carnis*; "that is, by alliances and mar-"riages."

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1604. by this practice, has found the ſecret of conſiderably augmenting her power, by means leſs rapid, indeed, but alſo leſs hazardous, than war.

I take this occaſion to obſerve, that I am not of the common opinion with reſpect to the Salic law; that law ſo much talked of, which is no where to be found in writing, but whoſe original is ſufficiently demonſtrated by the name it bears: as its antiquity is proved by the uncertainty even of this origin *. It

* As to the Salic law, the abbé du Bos ſpeaks of it as follows, in his Critical hiſtory of the eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy in Gaul, vol. III. b. vii. p. 290, 291. "It probably obtained its name, "from its being already in force "amongſt the Salian Franks, when "Clovis incorporated into their "tribe all the tribes which ac-"knowledged him as king, in the "year 510, except the tribe of the "Ripuarii. The moſt ancient "digeſt we at preſent have of this "law, is what was made by the "order of king Clovis, and after-"wards corrected by the orders of "Childebert and Clotarius his chil-"dren.—In the year 798, Charle-"maine made a new digeſt of it, "in which he added many new "ordinances to it, &c." This writer farther aſſerts, ibid. 273. That the clauſe which enacts, "That the crown of France ſhall "not deſcend from the lance to the "diſtaff," is really contained in the 62d article of the Salic laws.

But another opinion has been maintained, and ſeems to be ſupported by reaſons of ſtill greater force, in oppoſition to the foregoing, by an academician of equal judgment and knowledge (M. de Foncemagne) in his excellent memoir on this ſubject, inſerted in the collection of the memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, an. 1727. p. 490, & ſeq. It is thereby proved, that there is no one article in all the Salic code which excludes daughters from the ſucceſſion to the crown; and that the 6th pargraph of the 62d title of this code, where it is ſaid, "That "males alone can enjoy the Salic "lands; and that females can have "no ſhare in the inheritance," ought only to be extended to the lands and inheritances of private perſons; but that, beſides this, there was a cuſtom, exiſting from time immemorial, even amongſt the Germans, that daughters could not ſucceed to the crown; that Tacitus makes mention of this, &c. —M. Foncemagne had before demonſtrated, in another memoir (ibid. anno 1726. p. 464, & ſeq.) that the kingdom of France was hereditary but in the male line only, during the firſt race of our kings.

The ſentiments of theſe two writers, though oppoſite in themſelves, become united againſt the principle laid down in this part of theſe Memoirs, which conveys to us an idea in every reſpect inſupportable. Beſides its direct tendency to deſtroy the pre-eminence this nation enjoys, it would involve the whole kingdom in almoſt a perpetual ſeries of civil and foreign wars, from the cabals it would occaſion in the choice of a ſucceſſor to the crown; it would create a confuſion in the laws, for which foreign kings would not always obſerve a proper deference, and be productive of many other inconveniences, of which the author undoubtedly was not aware: I cannot therefore believe but the whole

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has been generally conſidered as the ſureſt foundation of the kingdom and of the regal power. To me it appears, from the reflections I have made on this ſubject, that the ſituation of France, and the other advantages ſhe has received from nature, are of themſelves ſufficient cauſes for that pre-eminence ſhe has over all the other ſtates of Europe; and that the Salic law, ſo far from contributing to theſe advantages, has often hindered them from being improved by thoſe which a well directed policy might have added to them. It is certain, that if a foreign prince, by marrying an heireſs of France, ſhould become our king, the firſt kings of this race would be conſidered either as Germans, Italians, Spaniards, or Engliſh; but as there is not the leaſt reaſon to fear that he would transfer the ſeat of his empire from a city which every prince, if he had it in his power, would chuſe to reſide in, this firſt foreign prince, or king, would be ſoon a naturalized Frenchman; and his poſterity, from the firſt generation, would be wholly French. The houſe of Auſtria, eſtabliſhed in Spain, and that of Stuart, placed on the throne of England, are evidences of this truth. This firſt foreign prince, or king, would likewiſe unite to our crown his hereditary dominions, probably for ever. The Salic law, by forbidding (if I may uſe the expreſſion) the kingdom of France from falling to the diſtaff, has deprived it of one way of aggrandizing itſelf; and a way ſo much the leſs to be deſpiſed, as force having no ſhare in it, it affords no occaſion nor pretence for war. 1604.

Henry was much pleaſed with the anſwer I would have given to the Spaniſh conſtable; he aſſured me, that his ſentiments were the ſame with mine, but that he had concealed them under fair words, that

is only an imaginary ſcheme of the compilers, ſince none of the duke of Sully's maxim's are diſcoverable in it. On the actual exiſtence of the Salic law, conſult Venderlin, Eccard Baluze, &c. cited by the two academicians above named.

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1604. he might not give the Caſtilian any ſuſpicion of his deſigns*.

Theſe deſigns might indeed ſuffer ſome prejudice from what paſſed at London between England and Spain, yet it did not take away a probability of carrying them into execution; things were not yet ſo far advanced as to attempt that immediately: in political affairs, time brings every thing about, if its operations are waited for with prudence. In cardinal Bufalo I found all that I had been ſo long ſeeking for on the part of Rome; nor did I ſcruple to acquaint him with what might poſſibly happen hereafter, being perſuaded that the kingdom of Naples, which I allottted for his holineſs's ſhare, was a bribe ſufficient to ſecure his ſecrecy, and even to make him ſolicitous for the ſucceſs of it. This cardinal had always appeared to me to be a perfect politician: Spain, by ſeizing, as ſhe had lately done, upon the fortreſſes of Porto-hercole, Orbitello, Talamone, Piombino, Final, and Monaco, had opened the Pope's eyes; and indeed, if the Romans had not conſidered theſe frequent innovations as the forerunners of their approaching ſlavery, they muſt have been wholly void of reflexion. That Clement the eighth was of this opinion is ſufficiently clear, from

* John De-Serre, ſpeaking of the reception Henry IV. gave the conſtable, ſays: "The king "ſent the duke of Montbazon, "with a moſt honourable train of "noblemen, to receive him at the "gate of Paris." When Zamet gave an entertainment to the conſtable, the king came unawares, juſt as they were giving water to the conſtable, to waſh, ſaying, "I am "come to ſup with you." The conſtable being ſurpriſed was going to put one knee to the ground, and preſent a napkin to him; but the king raiſed him up and ſaid, "It is not your buſineſs to do the "honours of this houſe, but to re-"ceive them, you are of the blood "royal:" and truly, the king is related to the houſe of Velaſques, holding the office of conſtable by hereditary right, and which is conferred by the king of Spain on thoſe they think proper to elevate to the next degree below themſelves.

This ambaſſador had already had the honour of paying his reſpects to the king, two years before, when he was going to Flanders. "He "continued on his knees, ſays "Matthieu, ſomething longer than "he expected, and thereupon ſaid, "the king received him like a "king, and careſſed him as a re-"lation." Vol. II. b. v. p. 605. Siri, 317.

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the ſteps that he was obſerved to take: he was juſt ſuch a Pope as Henry had occaſion for, and this prince ſtudied to oblige him on every occaſion: he gave him a convincing proof of this diſpoſition, by ſending the prince of Condé to his court to be brought up, and inſtructed in the Roman-catholic religion. 1604.

The princes of Germany had equally favourable impreſſions of Henry. His majeſty commanded me to treat the duke of Wirtemberg's ambaſſador with great reſpect, that he might make a friend of his maſter; and though he had ſome reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the elector palatine, on account of the duke of Bouillon, yet he paid, without making any cavilling, certain ſums that ſtill remained due to this elector, for which his miniſters ſolicited, Henry only requiring that he ſhould recal his ſon from Sedan. With reſpect to the United Provinces, though they were abandoned by England, yet as that crown did not turn her arms againſt them, this made no alteration in their affairs, the aſſiſtance they had received from the Engliſh having been very inconſiderable. After the loſs of Oſtend and Sluys, the States took a little repoſe; but it was wearineſs, and their exhauſted condition, that made them ſubmit to this reſpite, which was to continue but a ſhort time. Thus the means of a diverſion was ſecured, to be uſed whenever France ſhould make attempts upon Spain.

I have ſlightly touched upon a difference between Spain and the Griſons *, which made noiſe enough this year, to give occaſion for many hiſtorical memoirs that were compoſed on this ſubject. This difference I am now going to explain.

The Swiſs Cantons have, for neighbours and allies, the three leagues of the Griſons, the thirteen

* See Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. and other hiſtorians, particularly Vittorio Siri, who treats this point of hiſtory very fully. Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 369, & ſeq.

1604. corporations of the Upper and Lower Valais, conſiſting of fifty-four pariſhes, of which the biſhop appointed by them is lord; Saint-Gal, Geneva, Neuf-chatel, Baden, and other cities imperial and not imperial, which ſubmitted to the Swiſs, on condition that their privileges ſhould be preſerved: theſe cities are comprehended in nine bailiwics.

The Griſons, of whom we ſpeak at preſent, inhabit the Alps; and that which is called the Valteline, which is a valley or rather a kind of large ditch, lying between the foot of the Alps belonging to Italy, and thoſe on the other ſide of it; for though its length be thirty leagues, or thereabouts, it is not more than one league broad, where its breadth is greateſt, from the Tirol to the lake of Coma. All the ground of this valley is watered by the Adda, which runs quite through it, and being increaſed by the torrents it receives in its paſſage, is but little leſs than the Marne, when it diſcharges itſelf into the lake of Coma; it contains about a hundred thouſand inhabitants, and is very fruitful in grain, vines, fruit-trees, and paſturage: it is bounded on the eaſt by the earldom of Tirol, to which it is contiguous, but the paſſages are both narrow and difficult; on the ſouth by Breſſe and Bergame, dependencies on the republic of Venice; the chain of mountains which ſeparates it from thoſe two cities, are ſo ſteep, and the ground ſo hard, that it is wholly inacceſſible on that ſide, except by two paſſages, from Tiron into Breſſan, and from Morben into Bergamaſque; a like chain of mountains, inhabited by the Griſons, bounds it on the north. The diſpoſition of this place is ſuch, that there are no paſſages to enter Italy from thoſe countries which lye to the north of it, but thoſe that lead into this valley, which at the weſt ends in a plain in the dutchy of Milan, in which runs the lake of Coma, between the Milaneze and the Valteline. This is the place we are about to ſpeak of.

About

About ſix hundred paces from the lake of Coma, Spain had lately built a fort called the fort of Fuentes, from the name of him who was appointed to command it, upon a rock two hundred feet in height, which commanded the whole extent of ground which ſeparates the Milaneze from the Valteline, and which is already but too difficult to paſs from the bogs and miry fields. Upon the ſhore of the lake, which in this place is not above two or three hundred paces in breadth, another fort was built over againſt the firſt, but not near ſo large; and to cloſe up this paſſage completely, deep trenches were dug in the ſpace between the bottom of theſe mountains and the lake. The fortifications of theſe two caſtles were very well contrived, being rendered pointed and angular, to ſuit the form of the rock; which has this farther advantage, that no cannon from any of the neighbouring places can take a direct aim at it. 1604.

It was not likely that the Griſons would not take umbrage at ſuch an enterpriſe; for although the Spaniards appeared, or feigned, to have no thought of theſe people in building this new work, and to ſhew that they had no deſign upon any part that did not belong to them, cauſed ſome trenches which had been carried too far to be filled up; yet it was but too apparent, that their view was to endeavour one day to join the ſtates of Italy and Germany, by invading the Valteline; and till then, to put an obſtacle in this place to the paſſage of thoſe beyond the Alps into Italy, to cut off all communication between the Swiſs and Griſons, and the French their allies, with the republic of Venice; in a word, to reduce the Griſons to capitulate with them, and acknowledge them for their maſters.

Spain had already given the Griſons ſome proofs of this laſt deſign. The proteſtant party had hitherto been moſt powerful in the three leagues, being eſtabliſhed in the moſt conſiderable canton, and embraced by perſons of the greateſt riches and diſtinc-

1604. tion among them; theſe were firmly attached to France, and were mortal enemies to Spain: but the differences of religion had as yet given riſe to no miſunderſtanding among theſe people, becauſe they were ſenſible their ſtrength conſiſted in being firmly united: the Spaniards, however, found means no break this union, by ſending their uſual emiſſaries, the jeſuits and capuchins, into thoſe cantons. Theſe fathers, by perſuaſions, promiſes, and bribes, eaſily ſucceeded in their deſign of ſetting the two parties at variance with each other: and gave the catholics as great a diſguſt to the form of government eſtabliſhed by their countrymen, as averſion to the religion they profeſſed.

Their hatred began firſt to ſhew itſelf in the reſult of the debates in the aſſembly of catholics, which was held at Baden, and which for the firſt time was directly contrary to that of the proteſtants, who held a ſeparate one at Arau at the ſame time. Some demanded, that thoſe perſons who had embezzled the money of the republic ſhould be proſecuted, and arrets iſſued againſt them; others openly ſupported thoſe perſons: but the catholic party becoming at length the ſtrongeſt, they proceeded to ſuch extremities with the proteſtants, as to baniſh them entirely into ſome little cantons, under pretence that they intended to deliver their country up to France. This is a thing which France hardly thought of; but ſhe could not be indifferent to what paſſed there, any more than the republic of Venice, who took an equal intereſt in theſe people. The ſieur Paſcal had been long our ambaſſador to them; and the Griſons appeared ſo well ſatisfied with him, that they deſired they might have juſt ſuch another; and as while theſe good intentions continued, they had alſo requeſted that the ambaſſador might be one capable of teaching them the art of war, we ſent De Vic, with orders to him and Canaye, who reſided at Venice in the ſame quality, to act always in concert with each other.

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The beſt and ſhorteſt method we could have taken, was to ſupport the league, in hindering by force the building of the fort of Fuentes, or at leaſt to furniſh them with the means of building one on their ſide, which would have rendered it uſeleſs. They had thought of this themſelves; and it would not have been a new thing, if his majeſty had given ſome money to theſe people: but indeed the Griſons had greatly cooled the zeal of their friends for their intereſts; they were ſo far from expreſſing any gratitude to his majeſty for the penſions he diſtributed amongſt them, that they made no other return but complaints of their being injudiciouſly beſtowed, and that this diſtribution was not referred to their miniſters. 1604.

The Venetians were alike diſcontented with them, upon other accounts, which Canaye communicated to De Vic; and it was highly probable, that the Swiſs would ſerve them no more with their accuſtomed good-will. The latter had allowed themſelves to be allured by the gracious reception their ambaſſador had met at Milan; and no one, on the other hand, doubted but the five cantons of Lucern, Schwitz, Zug, Vri, and Underwalt, would renew their alliance with the Milaneſe.

In oppoſition to all this, the liberty of the Griſons appeared a ſort of point, to every intereſted party, which ought not to be neglected; nor could the Spaniards hope as yet to complete their deſign of hood-winking the eyes of the Helvetic ſenate, though they ſuppoſed it not greatly illuminated with true political principles. In a word, it was at the diet appointed to meet at Coire, June 12, that theſe great efforts were to make their appearance; and each reſpective party, who expected the clearing of the whole affair in queſtion, took care to depute a repreſentative worthy to be truſted. Alphonſo Cazal came thither in the behalf of count Fuentes: I, by the means of Montmartin, ſent letters from his majeſty to De Vic, which, however, never hap-

1604. pened to be produced in public, becauſe Canaye declared that the ſtate of Venice, with regard to the Griſons, held ſentiments very different from thoſe of the king; and it was a principle inculcated into all our ambaſſadors, to unite conſiſtently in the ſame demands. The French and Venetian ambaſſadors contented themſelves with carrying on their point behind the ſcene, nor did they hardly ever appear to act: their ſeeming inactivity gave great hopes to count Fuentes; yet all the intrigues and movements of Alphonſo Cazal, in conjunction with him, could not ſupport his party from miſcarrying. The reſult of the diet was, that the * leagues would bear no mention of a treaty with Spain, except the fortreſs of Fuentes was previouſly razed, except communication and commerce were rendered free and open; in a word, except all things were reduced to their antient ſituation. The alliance with France received at the ſame diet a new confirmation; nevertheleſs, a great diſtance of ſpace and time was required to paſs from ſuch reſolutions to actual effects; and the Spaniards had many ſubterfuges to recur to by way of amuſing the Griſons. Mont-martin returned not thence, till he had maturely conſidered every point that adminiſtered matter in theſe debates, taking a draught at the ſame time, by my order, both of the fortreſs and the diſtrict round it. I have formed this article upon his repreſentation and Memoirs.

A diſpute of the ſame nature with this, but in which his majeſty was immediately concerned, aroſe this year, on account of the bridge of Avignon. This famous bridge was falling into decay for want of ſome repairs which had a long time been neceſſary. This delay was occaſioned by the particular ſituation of affairs in France, which left no time for the diſcuſſion of a queſtion between the

* When two or more cantons unite in one common cauſe, it is called a league.

king

king of France and the Pope, without which theſe repairs could not be undertaken. The queſtion was this; the Pope, in quality of proprietor of Avignon, claimed likewiſe the proprietorſhip of this bridge, of the toll and paſſage of the Rhone, between Avignon and Villeneuve, and conſequently of all the privileges annexed to theſe paſſes *; therefore the repairing of this bridge was deferred till it was decided, to which of the two, his majeſty or the Pope, it belonged to do it. The king being deſirous that this queſtion ſhould be decided once for all, and falling entirely under my cognizance, it was referred to me, which affords me an opportunity of explaining it to the public. 1604.

The law received in France has, at no time, granted any claim upon the waters and courſe of the Rhone to its borderers, though ſovereign princes; for of this rank ſome of them have been, as the prince Dauphin, the duke of Savoy, the count of Provence, and the prince of Orange. The queſtion was reduced to this point, namely, whether the Pope, who is one of the borderers, has any right to be excepted from this general rule by any particular conceſſion.

To decide this point, I cauſed the archives of the monarchy, the antient rights of inheritance, the regiſters of the ſeneſchal juriſdiction of Nimes, and all the charters of the province to be conſulted. I ſent commiſſioners of probity and underſtanding to the place; and the reſult of theſe laborious inquiries was, that the regulations by which rivers are divided between the borderers have no relation to the king of France, and alſo that he enjoyed a double right with reſpect to the Rhone, poſſeſſing ſolely as ſovereign its bed, the old and new channel, with all the rights annexed to them. Among the provinces through which this river runs, Languedoc

* Cardinal D'Oſſat ſpeaks of it in a manner greatly in favour of the Pope, in his letter to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d of June 1603.

1604. has this claim moſt inconteſtably eſtabliſhed, being an antient fief of the crown, which has never been ſeparated from it, and the counts of Toulouſe have always held it in this quality. In this it is different from Dauphiné and Provence, which are acquiſitions to the crown: but neither this reaſon, nor another equally ſtrong, the poſſibility that the provinces of Dauphiné and Provence might be alienated for an appanage or a portion, could hinder them from being comprehended in the ſame law with the Rhone, by the right of regale, which our kings could not be deprived of. A great number of edicts which were iſſued in the mean time in their favour, againſt the borderers of the Rhone, confirmed this right; and the treaty which was after the laſt war concluded with the duke of Savoy, eſtabliſhed it upon a ſolid foundation. The doubt concerning the Pope's intereſt in Avignon aroſe from this:

A fund of four thouſand livres was formerly ſet aſide by the kings of France, for making repairs in this bridge. This fund was afterwards relinquiſhed to an order of monks, who make a vow to aſſiſt all poor travellers, and called themſelves the brothers which ſerved the hoſpital at the bridge of Avignon, becauſe that hoſpital joins to the bridge: they were likewiſe inveſted with the rights which were to come to the king, on their binding themſelves to keep the bridge always in repair. Theſe rectors of the bridge enjoyed a long time theſe revenues and rights, but took no care to perform the obligations they had entered into. At length this firſt fund was diſſipated and loſt, no one knew how; during which time the officers of his holineſs made ſeveral different attempts to get poſſeſſion of the bridge and its rights; and the beſt way to effect this, in their opinion, was to make a voluntary offer of being at all the expence of the neceſſary repairs: they ſeveral times attempted to begin the work; but although his majeſty's council did not

act with all the ſpirit they ought to have done upon this ſtep of uſurpation, the candidates, however, were always contradicted, and their demands rejected. From all theſe proofs, his majeſty's claim was aſcertained. 1604.

I cauſed a definitive arret to be iſſued, which decided this difference. By this arret, the Rhone and its iſles, its ports, tolls, rights, and dependencies, particularly the bridge of Avignon, were declared to belong ſolely to the king, by the regal rights of the demeſne, and the patrimony of the crown. In conſequence of this arret, his majeſty ordered the repairs of the bridge to be begun, and meaſures to be taken to recover the firſt funds, that had been miſapplied and loſt: and thus was this affair ended, in which the duke of Savoy was almoſt as much concerned as the Pope.

His majeſty alſo made an acquiſition of the earldom of Saint-Paul, one of the appanages of the count of Soiſſons. This prince being plunged in debts, determined to ſell this earldom to ſatisfy his creditors, who were very preſſing for payment: he thought, no doubt, that, after the birth of a ſon, which his wife had lately brought, he ought not to live any longer in a diſſipation of his fortunes: he received, with his uſual affectation of gravity and ſtoiciſm, the compliments his majeſty ſent him upon the birth of his ſon; and afterwards ſent Guillouaire to the king, with the offer of his earldom of Saint-Paul. Henry, in this acquiſition, firſt conſidered his inclinations, and afterwards the inconvenience of doing homage for it, if it paſſed into the hands of any foreign prince; he therefore heard the count's propoſal favourably, and till they could agree upon the price, advanced him a conſiderable ſum of money to free him from the importunity of his creditors.

His majeſty, who had not yet mentioned this affair to me, wrote to the count of Soiſſons, and deſired him to apply to Caumartin and I, to whom he

1604. he intended to entruſt the management of this purchaſe; and wrote to me alſo, to know my opinion of it. I approved of it entirely, and uſed my utmoſt endeavours to ſerve the count of Soiſſons; but I found it neceſſary to give great attention to the form in which the purchaſe was to be made. The affair being protracted to ſome length, I ſet out on my journey to Poitou: Henry, in the mean time, liſtening only to his impatience, and being perſuaded that there was no danger to be hazarded bringing the affair to a ſpeedy concluſion, referred it to meſſieurs de Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and Maiſſe, who ſettled all matters with the count of Soiſſons by a bargain of exchange. At my return the king acquainted me with what was done; and ſeeing me greatly aſtoniſhed at his precipitation, enquired the cauſe, reproaching me at the ſame time with the little inclination I diſcovered for making ſo fine an acquiſition to the crown, which had, from my anceſtors, fallen into the poſſeſſion of the count of Soiſſons: it was for this very reaſon that I knew more of the matter than any other perſon, and I excuſed myſelf in the following manner to his majeſty.

From the time that this earldom had been poſſeſſed by the counts of its name, it had been the ſubject of many debates, whether it ſhould be held of the county of Boulogne, or the county of Artois; that is to ſay of France or Spain. This diſpute being of the number of thoſe which it is not eaſy to decide, it was agreed to in the laſt treaties made by Francis I. and Henry II. with the kings of Spain, that till the queſtion could be decided, the lords of Saint-Paul ſhould be at liberty to hold it of either of thoſe counties which they ſhould prefer. The ſucceeding counts of Saint-Paul choſe to do homage for it to the county of Artois; and, by this preference, gave Spain a claim which might furniſh a ſufficient pretence for re-kindling the war, as ſoon as the king of France, the poſſeſſor of this

fief, ſhould declare, that he would hold it for the future of the count of Boulogne, who was himſelf, for he could not without a kind of diſhonour do otherwiſe. It would have been a melancholy thing, to ſee the war re-kindled for a trifle of this nature; and ſhameful to avoid it, by ſubmitting to do homage to a crown which owed it to France. The king was convinced by my arguments; and the remedy was, to break the firſt contract, and ſign a ſecond in the name of a third perſon, and his majeſty was not to declare himſelf till he could do it without any injury to his dignity. 1604.

This affair was concluded at Fontainebleau, where the king made a long ſtay this year. He ſent for the Dauphin and the reſt of the children from Saint-Germain. It was his firſt deſign, that the Dauphin ſhould not paſs through Paris in this journey; but he altered it upon ſome repreſentations which I made him. The children of France, with madam de Monglat their governeſs, paſſed through Paris in their way to Saint-Cloud, and came to Fontainebleau by Savigny.

One of his majeſty's natural ſons, who was called Alexander, and had the title of Monſieur, was received into the order of Malta, in compliance with the king's inclinations *. He gave orders, during his ſtay at Fontainebleau, for his buildings to be begun. The expences of this year were not leſſened but increaſed, by the addition of thoſe ſums laid out on the buildings deſtined for the new manufactures. My part was to obey, and I did it in ſilence, but with deep regret. I remember only, that ſeeing at the ſame time a great number of religious orders † eſtabliſhed in France by the Pope's

* This ceremony was performed in the church of the Temple, in the preſence of the legat and embaſſadors. The young prince not being able to pronounce the words of the vows, Henry IV. haſtily deſcended from his throne and made them for him to the grand prior, promiſing that the prince ſhould ratify them when he ſhould be ſixteen years of age. De Thou, book cxxxii.

† Politicians have always made a great outcry againſt the too great increaſe of religious orders, and the commiſſion,

1604. commiſſion, I quoted to his majeſty the examples of Charlemaign for the firſt, and the Romans for the ſecond.

Mahomet III. dying of the plague, Achmet his ſon, who ſucceeded him at fourteen years of age, was obliged to appeaſe the murmurs of the people againſt the bad government, by baniſhing his grandmother, who was the cauſe of it. Sinan Baſha, the counſellor of this princeſs, was cited to give an account of his conduct; but, inſtead of obeying this order, he fled. Perſia, being then at war with this crown, took advantage of theſe diſorders to ſeize certain towns. The ſieur de Salignac was then our ambaſſador at the Porte.

exceſſive number of monks in this kingdom. If our kings and our miniſters of the greateſt abilities have not followed this maxim, it was not owing to their not allowing the force of theſe reaſons, but to their thinking it their duty to give religion the preference to politics; ſince, if it be true that monks are uſeleſs to the ſtate, it is equally inconteſtable, that religion would ſuffer by their ſuppreſſion. "The man muſt therefore he either wicked or blind," ſays cardinal de Richlieu, whoſe evidence on this ſubject is leſs liable to ſuſpicion than M. de Sully's, "who does not ſee and acknowledge, that the religious orders "are not only uſeful, but even "neceſſary; as, on the other hand, "nothing but too indiſcreet a zeal "can prevent one from perceiving, "that an exceſs of them is not "only inconvenient, but may be "even increaſed to ſuch a degree "as to become deſtructive. What "is done for the ſervice of the "ſtate is done for the ſervice of "God, who is the baſis and foun-"dation of it: to reform the re-"ligious houſes already eſtabliſh-"ed, and to ſtop the too great in-"creaſe of new foundations, are "two things pleaſing to God, "who deſires regularity and order "in all things." Political Teſtament, part I. chap. ii. § 8.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XX.

THE proceſs carried on in the parliament, againſt the counts of Auvergne and Entragues, and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, terminated in an arret iſſued the beginning of this year, by which the two counts were condemned to loſe their heads, and the marchioneſs to be ſhut up, during the reſt of her life, in a cloiſter. I received the firſt news of it from the king, who ſent for me to acquaint me with the ſentence; and, afterwards drawing me aſide to the balcony of the firſt gallery in the Louvre, aſked me what impreſſion I thought this treatment would make on the mind of his miſtreſs. I aſked his majeſty, in my turn, whether in propoſing this queſtion, he wiſhed that I ſhould tell him my ſentiments freely. "Yes, yes, replied "Henry, do not be apprehenſive that I ſhall be "offended; I have been long accuſtomed to your "freedoms." I then told him, that he himſelf could anſwer this queſtion better than any other perſon; for if he gave the marchioneſs reaſon to believe that he was wholly cured of his paſſion, and animated with a juſt indignation againſt her, he would ſee her have recourſe to ſubmiſſion, to prayers and tears to move him; but if, on the contrary, he 1605.

1605. he ſuffered her to ſuſpect that he had acted only under the impreſſion of a mere love-quarrel, ſhe would not recede from her former inſolence of behaviour.

I afterwards frankly confeſſed to Henry, that whichſoever of theſe two parts ſhould be taken by Madam de Verneuil, I was perſuaded the conſequence would be ſtill the ſame, for many reaſons, among which, his natural clemency, and his conſideration for the children he had by his miſtreſs, did not ſeem to be the leaſt. "I would have you "viſit her, ſaid this prince to me; I want to know "what ſhe will ſay to you, and if ſhe will not "employ you as an interceſſor for her to me." I entreated his majeſty, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to diſpenſe with me both from the viſit and the interceſſion: I was truly weary of acting a part which had never produced any effect; and I was unwilling to loſe entirely the good opinion of the queen, to whom, notwithſtanding I had always ſupported her intereſt againſt her rival, I had been repreſented as an artful incendiary, and the venal ſpy and flatterer of Henry. I had proofs, that ſuch inſinuations had been given the queen more than a month ſince: I told the king ſo, and named three perſons to him, who had been the authors of them, and repreſented to him, that there wanted only this ſtep, which he required me to take, to deprive me hereafter of all means of ſerving him with this princeſs, on occaſions which he was ſenſible recurred but too frequently. Henry conteſted this point with me a long while, but I prevailed at length, and left to another thoſe infallible means of making court to a prince, but for which I ever had the ſtrongeſt diſlike; and if I ſtill took any part in the affair, it was only to prevent the concluſion of it from being as ſhameful for Henry, as I foreſaw it was likely to be.

This prince did not want courtiers conformable to his taſte; and here the groſs ſervility of a court was fully diſplayed. As ſoon as it was perceived that Henry

Henry could neither diſengage himſelf from his miſtreſs, nor rule the queen, this crowd of voluntary ſlaves to the paſſions of the ſovereign accommodated their actions, words, and even the air of their countenances, to this diſpoſition: no one dared to contradict either the queen or the marchioneſs, and only feigned to do ſo, when the nature of their commiſſion required it; they but half ſerved his anger, that they might always have their juſtification ready for both ſides. Sigogne had been ſent to me, by his majeſty, with a very ſevere order concerning the marchioneſs, conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms: he did not ſcruple to ſuppreſs one half of it; and, what is indeed aſtoniſhing, Henry diſcovered that he did ſo, told me of it, and yet continued to make uſe of him. If this prince carried weakneſs to an extravagant length, his courtiers puſhed their flattery ſtill farther; it was never better known to what degree of ingenuity, and at the ſame time of ſervility, meanneſs, and wickedneſs, it could attain. 1605.

No one was deceived as to the manner in which Henry treated the marchioneſs of Verneuil; but it was matter of general ſurprize, to find that the lenity ſhewn her extended to the two other criminals, whom the public voice had already condemned to the ſame puniſhment which marechal Biron had ſuffered: the count d'Auvergne's ſentence * was commuted into a perpetual impriſonment in the Baſtile, where for once he had leiſure to grow weary † of confinement; that of the lady's father, into a baniſhment to his own eſtates: and

* "The king changed this puniſhment, ſays Baſſompierre, to "an impriſonment for life, partly "in conſideration of Madam d'Angoulemê, who moſt earneſtly "begged it of him, but more for "a reaſon he gives us, which is, "that the late king Henry III. his "predeceſſor, had, on his death-"bed, recommended only the "count of Auvergne, and M. Le "Grand to his favour; and he "would therefore not have it ſaid, "that he put a man to death, who "had been ſo affectionately recom-"mended to him, by the perſon "from whom he had received the "kingdom." Vol. I. p. 165. But neither M. de Sully, nor Henry IV. himſelf, when converſing with his miniſter on this ſubject, makes the leaſt mention of this motive.

† He came out of his priſon in the next reign. He was ſeventy-one years of age, when, in 1664, he took for his ſecond wife made-

as

1605. as for her, she had a full pardon *, and even dictated the conditions herself.

The affair between the king and the marchioness could not be terminated in this manner, without creating new quarrels between this prince and the queen, to whom this late instance of tenderness and consideration in the king her husband for his faithless mistress afforded sufficient matter for rage and exclamation: it was absolutely necessary she should be appeased, and Henry was obliged to have recourse to me on this occasion. No labour, no fatigue was equal to this; every moment there were new expressions to explain, new actions to justify, new interests to conciliate; it was the business of the night, as well as the day, to compose these differences: no sooner did a calm appear, than a storm arose immediately after, which brought every thing back to its former state. At my return from the Limosin, at the end of the year, I found more unhappiness at Fontainebleau than there had ever been before: what could be done, in an evil so irremediable, than to deplore it in silence? and this was the method I pursued. I collected all the letters the king had written to me upon this subject, and suffered none to remain in the hands of my secretaries, from whom I concealed, for the future, what the king imparted to me in confidence, whatever instances they might make me. One of these letters of most consequence I snatched from a secretary of mine, who had begun to read it in a little summer-house,

moiselle de Nargonne; and, as this lady did not die till 1713, aged ninety-two years, it made a kind of chronological paradox, that a daughter-in law should die an hundred and forty years after her father-in-law

* "The king, says Perefixe, "permitted the marchioness to retire to Verneuil; and seven "months having passed without "the attorney-general's finding "any evidence against her, by the "king's order she was declared "guiltless of the crime whereof she "was accused. He also, says the "Mercure Françoise, dispensed "with her personal attendance on "the parliament to get her letters "of pardon registered, which were "allowed by the parliament on the "6th of September." See the particulars of this process in M. De Thou, anno 1605. Siri, ibid. p. 799, and other historians.

where

where I ſent him to ſearch for ſome papers. I act upon the ſame plan at preſent with the public, to whom I do not communicate all theſe little quarrels, which they would find a needleſs repetition of diſputes, reproaches, jealouſies, and violent deſigns, of which the reader is, I believe, already ſufficiently weary. 1605.

From the diſpoſition the count of Auvergne was known to be of, it was believed he would not be very eaſy under his confinement in the Baſtile, nor d'Entragues reliſh the inactive life he was compelled to in ſpite of himſelf. It was diſcovered, ſix months afterwards, that the count had concerted with his father-in-law, who apparently found the ſecret of getting intelligence even in his priſon, the means of eſcaping from the Baſtile. It was a rope-maker who gave information of this deſign, and ſupported his evidence with ſo many proofs, that, upon his report, the grand prevot, ſearching the wood of Maleſherbes, found the cords, pullies, and other engines, with which the projected eſcape was to be effected; for which d'Entragues was afterwards arreſted, and obliged to go through an examination at his own houſe. He alledged, that he was not obliged to anſwer the grand prevot; there was a neceſſity therefore for forcing him to it by a ſpecial commiſſion, which his majeſty ſent for that purpoſe, from the province where he then was.

In the mean time, d'Entragues compoſed a kind of caſe, written and ſigned by his own hand, to juſtify his proceedings, and expected that this would acquit him. This piece, for its artful turn, and the ſpecious manner in which he gloſſed over his conduct, was well worthy of its author: yet, with all his ſubtilty of reaſoning, he could not clear himſelf of the principal charge, nor explain to his advantage the meaning of the cords and machines found in the woods of Maleſherbes. He defended himſelf much worſe when, notwithſtanding this paper, he found himſelf obliged to go through an

1605. examination: he maintained, with great obſtinacy, that no bad intention could be proved againſt him, by the diſcovery of thoſe cords and pullies. The grand prevot omitted no part of his duty upon this occaſion; he took care to keep all the domeſtics of d'Entragues ſeparate, that they might have no opportunity to conſult either with their maſter, or with one another. But notwithſtanding the rage Henry appeared to be in, yet, through the whole procedure againſt the criminal, ſomething ſo favourable was perceived, that he had no great reaſon to be apprehenſive, although the rope-maker furniſhed all the proofs that were neceſſary to convict him, and heavily accuſed among others a man named Giez: yet they choſe to believe the accuſed perſon, upon his bare word, that he was abſolutely ignorant of every thing; and he was not ſo much as impriſoned. I was at my government while this affair was in agitation, but ſent orders from thence to my lieutenant in the Baſtile, to confine the count of Auvergne more cloſely than ever; which was all that this plot produced.

I proceed now to the concluſion of another affair, which was begun and almoſt finiſhed during the preceding year: this was the entire reſtoration of the Jeſuits. Theſe fathers, whatever inſtances of kindneſs they received from the king, thought nothing was granted while the pillar*, raiſed upon the foundation of Chatel's houſe, ſtill remained. His majeſty, perſecuted with prayers and entreaties

* This pyramid, about twenty feet high, and tolerably well built, ſtood oppoſite to the palace, there being only the ſtreet betwixt them; over the pedeſtal, on each of its four ſides, was a plate of black marble, having the arret of the parliament (before mentioned, in ſpeaking of the proceſs againſt John Chatel) engraven on them, with ſome inſcription, conceived in terms the moſt injurious to the jeſuits. We do not think it neceſſary to recite theſe inſcriptions, which are preſerved in the Memoirs of the league, vol. VI. D'Aubigné vol. III. b. iv. chap. 4. The royal MSS. vol. 9033. where the French tranſlation of them made at that time may alſo be ſeen, as well as in divers other writings.

M. De Thou's works, and the Mercure François, which may alſo be conſulted touching the demolition of this pyramid, anno 1605, agree with M. de Sully, that it be-

upon

upon this article, conſented at laſt that it ſhould be referred to his council. I thought, and ſeveral others were of the ſame opinion, that the ſociety had no reaſon to complain of ill treatment, if the council came to no other reſolution about it, than to eraſe the inſcription upon this pillar, which was indeed too ſevere: but they knew ſo well how to gain over the greateſt part of thoſe who compoſed the council to their ſide, that they obtained an arret ſuch as they deſired. 1605.

I cannot admit, that my conduct, on this occaſion, could merit the whole weight of the jeſuits indignation: however, my ruin appeared to theſe fathers, and to the three eſpecially who played the greateſt game at the court, to be of ſuch conſequence to religion, the common cauſe, and their own particular intereſts, that it was reſolved to effect it if poſſible. With the three Jeſuits, a like number of the principal lords of the court aſſociated themſelves, whom I ſhall name no more. All that was now neceſſary, was to recall to their minds the former notions of the league, of which the name indeed, but not the ſpirit nor the policy, was baniſhed the court: they found no difficulty to increaſe their party conſiderably, in a very ſhort time, with all the voluptuaries of the court, whoſe ſoft and effeminate lives it was owned I had cenſured with more imprudence than injuſtice. The Jeſuits, by making themſelves uſeful to their aſſociates, drew great advantages from them; ſo that, in a little time, a great number of colleges were founded in many of the chief cities in the kingdom, and endowed with very conſiderable revenues.

came a kind of juſtice, to deface theſe inſcriptions, when the jeſuits were reſtored, the two arrets being contradictory to one another: but they alſo obſerve, that the deſtruction of it occaſioned a violent outcry, it being thrown down at noonday, in the month of May, by the lieutenant-civil, ſent for that purpoſe by the king, and a fountain was built in its place: "The order "for it," ſays Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 683, "was directed to "M. de Sully, as ſurveyor-gene-"ral. The moſt valuable of the "ſtatues belonging to it were car-"ried to the grottos of Saint-"Germain."

1605. They did not, however, ſucceed every where with equal facility: the people of Troyes, Rheims, and Langres, did not receive the offers they made them of their ſervices very favourably. They were obliged therefore to have recourſe to letters from his majeſty: the fathers Cotton and Gauthier were employed to aſk them of the king, in whom ſo many petitions, one after the other, ſometimes occaſioned a little reflection. He told them, that he was very willing to gratify all their deſires, but that he feared they would, at laſt, endanger the royal authority: he brought Poitiers for an example, where, notwithſtanding the mandates they had obtained from him, yet they had laboured for two years ineffectually, to procure a ſettlement in that city, though, at the ſame time, it had ſolicited that a royal college might be founded there. Father Cotton replied, that nothing could be inferred from the behaviour of the inhabitants of Poitiers, which could affect the other cities, becauſe they would not be ſo unfortunate as to be oppoſed by perſons ſo powerful, ſo reſpected in the province, nor even ſo much favoured by his majeſty, as their enemies of Poitiers were.

The king had not here any occaſion for all that penetration on which he ſometimes valued himſelf, which enabled him to diſcover by the geſtures only, and the turn of the countenance, of thoſe who ſpoke to him, all that paſſed in their hearts*. He anſwered the father, that he perfectly underſtood what he had elſe to ſay, but that it was a mere calumny, for which he had no other foundation, than ſome reports that had been made him; for that having ſpoke to me himſelf of this matter before, I was ſo far from diſcovering ſuch intentions as were attributed to me, that I had aſſured him I would raiſe no obſtacles to their attempts; and that I would give them my aſſiſtance. "Ah! ſire, replied the father, God

* Matthieu has obſerved the ſame thing of Henry IV. "He "could form a judgment, ſays he, "of a man's actions and words, "from his look and manner." Vol. II. b. iv. p. 807.

" keep me from offending in any manner thoſe 1605.
" you love, and by whom you think yourſelf ſo
" faithfully ſerved; I will love them and ſerve
" them myſelf: but if your majeſty has any incli-
" nation to be convinced of the truth by incon-
" teſtible proofs, nothing is more eaſy than to
" produce ſuch as ſhall leave no doubt of the cer-
" tainty of what I have had the honour to tell you."
The king aſked, with ſtill greater earneſtneſs, if he was ſure he could prove what he had advanced? The father again confirmed it. " Well," ſaid Henry, leaving him, " I will conſider of this matter." And he ſent for me that inſtant.

As ſoon as I came to the Tuilleries, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the orangerie, where, as we walked, he aſked me, as if without any deſign, how the affair went on at Poitiers, concerning the Jeſuits founding a college there. I replied, that I was wholly ignorant of their proceedings, having reſolved not to concern myſelf with them, for thoſe conſiderations I had mentioned to his majeſty. " Think well what you ſay, replied
" this prince, for they would perſuade me that it
" is you alone who prevent their eſtabliſhment in
" that city." I aſſured him, with an oath, that I had never, directly nor indirectly, oppoſed their ſettling there, nor even expreſſed the leaſt diſlike to it.
" Well, ſaid the king, ſince it is ſo, take no no-
" tice of this matter to any one." On his entrance again into the Louvre, he took father Cotton aſide:
" Who has told you theſe idle tales of M. de
" Roſny? ſaid he; they are abſolutely falſe, as
" I indeed ſuſpected they were." " They will not
" be found ſo," replied the father; and for a proof of his aſſertion, told him that I had written ſeveral letters to the biſhop of Poitiers, the treaſurers of France in that city, to Saint-Marthe, and others, with whom I could do any thing; expreſly ordering them to oppoſe the ſettling of the Jeſuits there. He added, that he had ſeen theſe letters himſelf; and that

1605. they were in the hands of a man of ſtrict honour, who had allowed him to read them. "Can you "ſhew me theſe letters?" ſaid the king. "Yes, "ſire, replied the Jeſuit, whenever your majeſty "pleaſes." The king, who till now had ſuſpended his belief, could not for this once hinder himſelf from being influenced to my prejudice. "I will "talk to you to-morrow, ſaid he to the father, and "give you all the neceſſary orders upon this affair."

I came the next morning to the Tuilleries at eight o'clock, the king having ſent me orders to attend him very early: he talked to me of the uſual diſpatches and the preſent affairs; then taking me again into the orangerie, I gueſſed immediately, by the very turn of his countenance, part of what he was going to ſay to me. "You know, ſaid he, how "much I love you, but you likewiſe know how "much I love truth and hate all inſincerity; you "have uſed it with me; and although I never con-"ceal any of my ſecrets from you, you have "diſſembled with me, in the anſwer you gave me "to the queſtion I aſked you concerning the Je-"ſuits. I am not offended at your conduct in that "affair; as they never diſcovered any great friend-"ſhip for you, it could not therefore be expected "that you ſhould become their advocate; but I "am grieved to find that you are capable of diſſi-"mulation, you who profeſs to be a lover of truth "and ſincerity."

My aſtoniſhment was ſo great that I liſtened to the king in a profound ſilence; at length, recovering myſelf, "Sire, ſaid I, this is one of the blackeſt "impoſtures that ever was invented; the only fa-"vour I implore is, that you will inſiſt upon a "free explanation of this matter. If the Jeſuits "can prove their accuſation to be true, inflict what "puniſhment you pleaſe upon me, I ſhall never "complain; but if it is found to be falſe, ſuffer "me, ſire, I moſt humbly implore you, to do "myſelf public juſtice, that I may prevent "ſuch

" ſuch deſigns from being undertaken againſt me 1605.
" for the future; for if there is a neceſſity for my
" being continually employed in defending my
" conduct, it will be no longer poſſible for me to
" attend to ſtate affairs, the number and weight
" of which are already more than I can well bear."
" What! interrupted the king, have you not writ-
" ten any thing againſt the Jeſuits, and prevented
" their founding a college at Poitiers? think a
" little, and refreſh your memory, that you may
" not engage to maintain any thing of which the
" contrary may be proved againſt you." " No,
" ſire, I replied, I ſwear by my God, and all my
" hopes of ſalvation, that what I ſay is true."
" What malignant minds are theſe," purſued the king, moved with a juſt indignation, " which can
" never ceaſe to envy virtue, or be weary of their
" fruitleſs attempts to ruin thoſe who are faithful
" to my ſervice; leave this affair to me, continued
" he; I will ſearch it to the bottom, and diſcover,
" if poſſible, both its ſource and its authors."

He left me at theſe words to go and hear maſs at the convent of the capuchins, where he knew he ſhould find father Cotton; and, calling him, renewed the diſcourſe of the preceding days, and aſked for the letters which he ſaid he had ſeen. " Thoſe let-
" ters, ſire, ſaid the father, are in the hands of a
" perſon of honour, and I will anſwer for the truth
" of what that perſon ſaid, as well as that the let-
" ters he ſhewed me are genuine." " It is enough,
" returned the king; but go and bring them to me,
" that I may ſee them; I know his hand-writing
" and his ſignature as well as my own, having re-
" ceived more than two thouſand letters from him
" in my life." The father, perplexed by ſo unſea-ſonable an order, endeavoured to elude it, by appealing to his majeſty's knowledge of his veracity, and his averſion to all kinds of falſhood. " I am willing
" to believe you, ſaid this prince to him, but I would
" alſo have others believe you, by ſhewing them theſe

1605. "letters; therefore do not fail, purſued he in a ſevere "tone, to bring them to me, for I am determined "to ſee them, that I may convict of malice and "fraud thoſe who are really guilty. Go, and re-"turn again immediately."

There was no reply to be made to an order ſo poſitive; the father retired with a low reverence; but the king expected him in vain all the remainder of that day: he apologized for it the next morning, on account of the abſence of the perſon who was poſſeſſed of theſe letters. But there was a neceſſity to find another excuſe for returning without them, which would coſt the father much more. He told the king, that this nobleman's valet de chambre had unfortunately thrown thoſe letters into the fire with other papers. But for want of the letters, he brought a thouſand new aſſurances of the truth of what he had advanced. The king, however, was not diſpoſed to pay himſelf with that ſort of coin: "How!" ſaid he, interrupting him, in a rage, "have they burned theſe letters? this is not to be "believed." And perceiving that father Cotton, who was ſenſible this affair would not reſt as it was, equivocated in his anſwers, and ſeemed deſirous that nothing more ſhould be ſaid of it, he quitted him in diſguſt. "Roſny," ſaid he, approaching and taking me aſide, "your letters have been burnt."

I came again to his majeſty, to propoſe an expedient to him which I thought would entirely ſilence my accuſer; this was, to prevail upon the king to write to the biſhop of Poitiers, and the officers of that city, to produce all the letters they had received from me; and to write to them myſelf in the cleareſt manner upon the ſubject. I carried with me all the originals of theſe letters, in which his majeſty found nothing to take offence at: he ordered his ſecretaries to write thoſe letters, which were to be in his name, immediately; and ſent them to Poitiers in the ſame packet with mine, by a courier named Conſtant. Upon the receipt of theſe letters, the biſhop and the magiſtrates

magiſtrates of the city ſent the ſieur de La-Pariſiere to give his majeſty all the informations he deſired. La Pariſiere, in the name of all his fellow-citizens, atteſted, with regard to me, that they had always conſidered my letters as written with favourable intentions towards the Jeſuits; and preſented to the king all they had been able to collect. 1605.

Among a great number which related only to the affairs of the province, four were found in which the Jeſuits were mentioned; three of theſe letters, directed to Saint-Marthe the lieutenant-general, and to his brother, ſeparately, and the office of the finances, were copies of each other; and after other matters were diſcuſſed, concluded with theſe words: "With regard to the Jeſuits college, I know not "why you make ſo many difficulties about that, "and perſiſt in your ſolicitation for the royal col- "lege, of which you have written to me, ſince you "know, as La-Pariſiere has often told you from "me, that you will never obtain of the king what is "neceſſary for it, and, that he abſolutely commands "the other ſhould be allowed; it is your part there- "fore to act prudently, and do that with a good "grace, which in the end you will be obliged to "do whether willing or not: be it your care only, "upon receiving them, to make ſuch regulations as "may not leave it in their power to diſturb the "tranquillity of the city or province; or make any "alteration in that union maintained at preſent be- "tween the two religions, that the king may be "ſerved with duty and affection by all."

The fourth letter, addreſſed to the biſhop of Poitiers, is yet ſtronger: after ſome buſineſs and ſome compliments, which made up the firſt part of it, the king read theſe words: "I always doubted, that the "Jeſuits would not find people as kind and chari- "table in actions as in words: for my own part, if "the province is willing they ſhould have a ſet- "tlement in it, and that they will reſolve to live "quietly there, without embittering the minds of

"the

1605. "the people, or doing any thing to diſturb that "harmony which at preſent ſubſiſts between the "two religions, I ſhould be glad to ſee them in "my government, and will do them all the ſervice "I can; but if they foment diviſions there, or give "riſe to any jealouſies and diſtruſts, I had rather "they were any where elſe."

The king's courier, as he paſſed through Paris, which his majeſty had juſt quitted and ſet out for Fontainebleau, left for me a particular anſwer to the letter I had written to the biſhop of Poitiers, of which theſe are the contents; That father Mouſſy, the Jeſuit, had brought him a letter from father Cotton, in which this father mentioned certain letters, ſuppoſed to be written by me to him, againſt the eſtabliſhment and honour of the ſociety, and the complaints which this father, believing them to be true, had made of me to his majeſty. The biſhop added, that after reading this letter, he had obliged father Mouſſy to own, that his brother had been greatly to blame to believe a matter of ſuch conſequence ſo lightly; and acted ſtill more imprudently to write it, and bring it to the ears of the king: that father Mouſſy had ſeen all the letters, and found nothing in them which could authorize ſuch an accuſation, and undertook to undeceive father Cotton, by acquainting him with what he had ſeen.

The biſhop of Poitiers, who really believed the exiſtence of this imaginary letter of accuſation againſt me, which father Cotton had told him in his, had been ſent from Poitiers, and who thought, probably, that it would do both me and him ſervice to diſcover the author of it, ſent me word, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to find it out; and that he had been told, the preceding day, that it was ſigned *Guillaume*; but that no perſon knew better than father Cotton himſelf; for although, as he was likewiſe informed, it was that father who had thrown this letter into the fire, yet he could not have forgot the ſubſcription of it: the biſhop's let-

ter is dated March 23, 1605. I ſhewed it to Sillery, who ſet out for Panfou, from whence he went to Fontainebleau, to make his report to his majeſty: but the king ordered me to bring this letter to him at Fontainebleau, together with the copies of thoſe which had been ſent me from Poitiers. I perceived that this new proof of my ſincerity had increaſed his eſteem for me. 1605.

The next day he ſent for Richelieu and Pont-Courlay, and aſked them if they knew who it was that had ſuggeſted to father Cotton the complaints he had made againſt me? and whether they had any ſhare in it? They replied, that very far from engaging themſelves in the affair, they had earneſtly adviſed father Cotton never to mention to the king thoſe letters, whether ſuppoſititious, or written by ſome impoſtor under a feigned name; becauſe that if his majeſty gave credit to my words in matters wherein my religion might render me ſuſpected, he had much more reaſon to believe me, rather than thoſe idle reports received to my prejudice. The king anſwered, that they muſt prevail upon me to uſe the ſame moderation in this buſineſs as they had adviſed father Cotton to, and prevent, ſaid he, all occaſions of miſunderſtanding between my faithful ſervants, as well in political as eccleſiaſtical affairs. He permitted them, if they could not by any other means reconcile us to each other, to throw part of the blame upon himſelf.

I ſubmitted with a good grace to this reconciliation: after the two agents had aſſured me father Cotton had no intention to injure me, they intreated me to allow the father to wait on me, and aſſure me of the truth himſelf. I conſented, and they brought him the next day. This father told me, that it was true, he had complained of having a ſecret enemy, who oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of a college at Poitiers, but that he had no thought of me. However, his majeſty had underſtood that he meant me, and made me believe ſo likewiſe: that although

1605. though in this whole affair there was only a miſtake, yet he was extremely afflicted that it had given me any diſturbance, the remembrance of which he would endeavour to efface by the moſt faithful ſervices. In this manner was an affair concluded, which had given both parties a great deal of trouble.

It was probably in conſequence of this reconciliation, that father Richeome of Bourdeaux preſented me, at the cloſe of this year, by father Cotton himſelf, a book of his writing, with a moſt flattering dedication to me: he takes notice in this dedication, that although this book could not be very agreeable to the profeſſors of my religion (for it treated of the pilgrimage to Loretto) yet he had made no ſcruple to offer it me, and did not doubt of its being favourably received, on account of my attachment to the king (to whom indeed the higheſt elogiums were given in it;) to this motive he added a ſecond, which was purely of his own invention, that he had been aſſured I felt in myſelf a ſtrong diſpoſition to embrace the Roman catholic faith, a diſpoſition which increaſed every day; and reminded me of a little preſent he had made me the preceding year, which was a book, intituled *The Apologetic Remonſtrance of the Jeſuits to the King**. I told him, in my anſwer, that knowing myſelf to be capable of loving even my enemies, his ſociety might from thence judge what were my ſentiments concerning thoſe who profeſſed themſelves my friends. I returned him compliments for compliments, wiſhes for wiſhes, and even book for book; for I ſent him the Journey to Jeruſalem, in return for that of Loretto.

If any one doubts that theſe profeſſions of eſteem which were made me by the Jeſuits were not ſincere, let him ſuſpend his judgment for a moment, and he will know what to aſcribe them to; I will not omit any circumſtances of the fact I am going to relate, as

* This is the laſt of that father's works againſt Antony Arnaud: he wrote many books with great ſucceſs on behalf of his order.

I do

I do not imagine they will ſeem tedious to the reader, ſince they concern perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed at court as the duke d'Epernon, and Grillon *, colonel of a regiment of guards. 1605.

Grillon had at firſt the ſame unfavourable ſentiments for me with which almoſt all the courtiers were tainted; but after a little adventure which happened at the ſiege of Charbonnieres, during the war with Savoy, his friendſhip for me became ſtronger than his hatred had ever been. Grillon, at that time, was quartered at Aiguebelle, a little

* Lewis Berto de Crillon or Grillon, a gentleman of Avignon, as remarkable on account of the peculiarities in his temper as his intrepidity, which had procured him the name of Dread-nought. I find in the life of the duke of Epernon a ſtory very proper to be related along with what the duke of Sully tells us of this gentleman. "The "duke of Guiſe, to whom he had "been ſent after the reduction of "Marſeilles, having a mind to try "his courage, ſays the hiſtorian, "agreed with ſome gentlemen, to "give a ſudden alarm before Gril-"lon's quarters, as if the enemy "had been maſters of the town; "at the ſame time he ordered two "horſes to the door; and going "up into Grillon's room, told "him all was loſt; that the enemy "were maſters of the port and "town; that they had forced the "guards, and broke and put to "flight all that oppoſed them; that "finding it impoſſible to reſiſt them "any longer, he thought it was "better for them to retreat, than "by ſuffering themſelves to be "taken, add to the enemy's vic-"tory; that he had therefore or-"dered two horſes to be brought, "which were ready at the door; "and deſired he would make haſte, "for fear they ſhould give the ene-"my time to ſurprize them. Gril-"lon was aſleep when the alarm "was given, and was hardly awake "whilſt the duke of Guiſe was "ſaying this to him. However, "without being at all diſconcert-"ed by ſo hot an alarm, he cal-"led for his cloaths and his arms, "ſaying, They ought not, on too "ſlight grounds, to give credit to "all that was ſaid of the enemy; "and, even if the account ſhould "prove true, it was more becoming "men of honour to die with their "arms in their hands, than to ſur-"vive the loſs of the place. The "duke of Guiſe, not being able to "prevail on him to change this re-"ſolution, followed him out of the "room; but when they were got "half way down ſtairs, not being "able to contain himſelf any "longer, he burſt out a laughing; "by which Grillon diſcovered the "trick that had been played him. "He thereupon aſſumed a look "much ſterner than when he only "thought of going to fight, and "ſqueezing the duke of Guiſe's "hand, ſaid to him, ſwearing at "the ſame time (for he always "begun his diſcourſe with the moſt "horrible oaths) Young man, "never make it a jeſt to try the "courage of a man of honour; "for, by God! hadſt thou made "me betray any weakneſs, I "would have plunged my dagger "in thy heart: and then left him, "without ſaying a word more." Page 176.

town

1605. town at the bottom of a fort, where he commanded our foot, and often came to viſit the quarter of the artillery, where I was; he happened one day to be with me in a meadow, from whence I was obſerving a ravelin which I wanted to have battered down, and myſelf and thoſe that accompanied me were within reach of a battery, from whence the diſcharges began to be ſo frequent, that I reſolved to defer doing the buſineſs I was about till a fitter opportunity, when we needed not uſeleſly endanger our lives. "How! *morbleu*, my grand maſter," ſaid Grillon to me, with an air and tone of voice peculiar to him, "are you afraid of guns in the company of "Grillon? *Arnidieu!* ſince I am here they will "not dare to come nigh us; let us go to thoſe "trees I ſee about two hundred paces from hence, "we may reconnoitre the ravelin there with leſs "danger." "Let us go then, replied I, ſmiling, "ſince we are trying who ſhall ſhew himſelf moſt "mad; but ſince you are the oldeſt, I would wil-"lingly allow you to be the wiſeſt alſo." Probably I ſhould have done better to have paid no attention to what he ſaid; however I took his hand, and led him ſo far beyond the trees he had pointed to, that the bullets began to whiſtle ſtrongly in our ears. "*Arnidieu!* ſaid Grillon, theſe rogues have no re-"gard to the grand maſter's baton, or the croſs "of the Holy Ghoſt, and may probably lame us; "let us gain that range of trees and thoſe hedges, "which may ſhelter us; for, *par la-corbieu*, you "are an honeſt fellow, and worthy to be grand ma-"ſter: I will, during my whole life, be one of the "moſt faithful of your ſervants; let us vow an in-"violable friendſhip to each other; do you promiſe "me yours?" I took his hand, which he held out to me in token of union, and from that moment he continued to love me with a greater affection than he had ever ſhewn to any other perſon whatever, not even, as it was ſaid, to the king himſelf; and this adventure,

adventure, which had given riſe to it, he talked of to every one. 1605.

By what means I regained the duke of Epernon's friendſhip has been already mentioned. About the beginning of the year, he came to me and deſired that I would direct his appointments, as colonel of a regiment of guards, to be paid him in ready money. I repreſented to him, that he had been paid already all he could with reaſon demand upon that account; and that what he farther required, was but a poſſeſſion without a claim, or rather an uſurpation, which his favour with Henry the third had given him an opportunity of committing (for this was a diſcovery I had lately made) and that I was reſolved to cut it off for the future, unleſs he brought me an order from the king, by which this ſupplement was granted him in the manner of a gratuity. D'Epernon, offended at this diſcourſe, complained to the king, and endeavoured to perſuade him that I was become his enemy. His majeſty, to undeceive him, reminded him of the council held at Blois, wherein I oppoſed the advice given by the count de Soiſſons, to arreſt him with marechal Biron. This circumſtance, which d'Epernon had never before been acquainted with, made a great impreſſion upon his mind. "Do you aſſure "me, Sire, ſaid he to the king, that it was from "M. de Roſny I received this act of friendſhip?" "Yes, I aſſure you of it, replied this prince, for "I am not uſed to lie, eſpecially in things of conſequence."

D'Epernon left Fontainebleau the ſame day, and ſet out for Paris in a hired coach, having ſent one of his own before to Eſſonne, where it was to wait for him: I had left Paris in the ſame manner, his majeſty having ſent for me to Fontainebleau: d'Epernon and I met each other in a place over-againſt a chapel above Eſſonne; the duke ordered his coachman to ſtop, and called out to me, that he entreated I would

1605. I would give him an opportunity to ſay one word to me: we both alighted. "I have too long," ſaid he, approaching me, "been under a great obli-"gation to you, without paying you thoſe ac-"knowledgements you merit from me." He then repeated what the king had juſt told him, and, in the tranſport of his gratitude, loaded me with praiſes and aſſurances of the moſt inviolable friendſhip. I replied with my uſual ſincerity, that he was under no obligation to me, on account of the circumſtance he mentioned, ſince it was the buſineſs of every honeſt man to take the part of innocence, excluſive of all intereſt and views of any kind, and that hereafter he would be ſtill better convinced, that all my intentions, with reſpect to him, had been equitable, and more ſo than he had ſometimes believed. This affair produced ſuch a perfect good intelligence between us, that, eight days after, being upon the point of ſetting out for Guienne, d'Epernon made me a viſit to requeſt one of thoſe little favours of me with which a man takes pleaſure to oblige his friends.

The duke had been informed that ſome perſons, who were enemies to him, earneſtly ſolicited Grillon to reſign his colonel's commiſſion, in favour of another whom he had likewiſe as little reaſon to love; and, knowing that Grillon was wholly governed by my advice, he entreated me to prevent his reſigning this poſt till he returned from Guienne: and this I promiſed him. During d'Epernon's abſence, his majeſty was told ſome things to his diſadvantage, which determined him to give the poſt to a man who was not ſo much devoted to the duke d'Epernon as Grillon: it was not with this view, that the affair was propoſed to Grillon from the king, but becauſe he, in reality, was not very diligent in the exerciſe of this employment, and was ſoon to take a journey to Provence, where his ſtay was likely to be very long. He was given to underſtand, that it was for theſe two reaſons his majeſty wiſhed he would diſpoſe

diſpoſe of this employment, and promiſed to procure him a good price for it. 1605.

Grillon, ſingular and fantaſtic to the laſt degree, and already a little diſtempered in his brain, only ſhook his head without anſwering the three firſt times that they mentioned the king's intentions to him. He afterwards ſuſpected, that it was I whom the king had in view to ſucceed to his employment; and when he came to take leave of me, aſked me if it was not ſo, making me, at the ſame time, many offers of ſervice; it was with great difficulty that I could put this notion out of his head, and was obliged to tell him, that I would not accept of this employment, although it ſhould be given me for nothing. "How! returned Grillon immediately; "ſure you do not think an employment which Gril-"lon has poſſeſſed unworthy of you; *Arnibleau*; "my grand maſter, you are very vain, for ſince I "have filled it, it is worthy of the beſt of you." "I know, replied I, that one Grillon is of more va-"lue than a thouſand Roſnys; but I have other "reaſons which hinder me from thinking of it." "Oh, very well, that is enough," ſaid he: and then, without my ſolicitation, engaged not to reſign it till I ſhould adviſe him to it, and then only to that perſon who ſhould be agreeable to me: and from this time, he would not give a ſerious anſwer to any of the propoſals that were made him on this ſubject.

At length the king was obliged to talk to him himſelf; he ſent for him, and repeated the ſame arguments which were uſed to him before, to prevail upon him to reſign a poſt, the duties of which were incompatible with the long ſtay he propoſed to make in his native country, adding a thouſand kind and obliging things upon the valour and ſervices of Grillon. "By what I can underſtand, Sire, replied "Grillon, you want me to quit your ſervice, "and that I ſhould become abſolutely papiſtical; "for you know I am born a ſubject to the Pope."

1605. "Ah no, Grillon, replied his majeſty, that is not "my intention:" then adding new reaſons drawn from the nature of his employment: "So then, in "good earneſt, ſaid Grillon to him again, you "would have me reſign my employment; and ſince "it is your deſire, I will not do it, at leaſt to the "perſon for whom I hear it is deſigned."

This ſpeech indeed was no great indication of a ſound mind; he withdrew in a rage, but the king, who knew his humour, only laughed at him: he even took a reſolution to ſpeak to him no more of the matter, ſo little was this prince inclined to uſe any reſtraint to perſons who had ſerved him faithfully. But happening to mention this little extravagance of Grillon before Roquelaure, Zamet, Piles, Fortia, and ſome other captains of the regiment of guards, one of them ſaid, that there were but two ways to render Grillon tractable, which were to employ d'Epernon in the affair, and to tell him that it was for me, and in my name, that he aſked him for his poſt. The king replied, that he would never diſpoſe of it, at the ſolicitation of the duke d'Epernon; neither did he deſire that I ſhould accept of it: but that he believed I would not refuſe to entreat Grillon to yield it to the perſon he had in view. His majeſty did not name this perſon, but only added, that he was worthy of it by his abilities, and rich enough to give Grillon a good recompence for it. Henry then ordered Piles, Fortia, and Zamet to come to me and propoſe it as a thing that would be very agreeable to him, but without owning that they had his orders for mentioning it.

At firſt I made no other anſwer to theſe gentlemen, than that I had private reaſons for not meddling in the affair; but upon their preſſing me to diſcloſe theſe reaſons, I informed them, with my uſual ſincerity, of the engagement I had entered into with the duke d'Epernon, which was, as I may ſay, the pledge of our reconciliation. When theſe words were related to the king, he was immediately ſeized with ſo violent

violent a tranſport of rage againſt me, that, as he afterwards owned to me, he never remembered to have borne me ſo much ill-will before: doubtleſs the occaſion of it would appear very ſlight, if I did not, at the ſame time, inform the reader that it was in this year, and at this very time, that my enemies had then actually given me the ſevereſt blow they had ever aimed againſt me, and brought me, in reality, within an inch of my ruin, or at leaſt of my diſmiſſion from my employments, to the laſt of which I think I ſhould have readily ſubmitted. Libels, letters, informations, malicious inſinuations, atrocious calumnies, all that envy could ſuggeſt moſt injurious and moſt horrid, had been practiſed, and ſtill continued to be practiſed every day againſt me, all which I ſhall particulariſe hereafter: for the preſent it is ſufficient to ſay, that the poiſon had been ſo ſubtilly applied, that the king, although he had long been aware of the malice of my enemies, had not been able to avoid being tainted with it, and it had reached even to his heart. 1695.

I ſhall not here uſe the ordinary ſtyle of thoſe who have ſuffered ſuch trials, when they exclaim, with ſo much vehemence, againſt the ingratitude and injuſtice they have met with from princes; I always ſuſpect that ſuch outcries proceed either from great vanity, or great ignorance of the human heart. To make calumny againſt the abſent ſucceſsful, nothing more is requiſite than to find the means of opening the mind to ſuſpicion, and to thoſe, who, having every thing to govern and direct, have likewiſe every thing to foreſee and to fear, innumerable arguments will occur to keep alive and juſtify this ſuſpicion. How many appearances of fidelity, are there ſo well diſguiſed that truth itſelf could hardly aſſume any other face, eſpecially before kings, from whom one would imagine ſhe delights to conceal herſelf? But are there not many miniſters likewiſe, who, from being loyal and affectionate, have become traitors to their ſovereigns? To

1605. all theſe conſiderations, Henry, on his ſide, added a too curious and too active reſearch into all poſſible contingencies, wherein for the preſent or the future, any danger to the ſtate might be apprehended; and I, on mine, too little ſolicitude to leſſen his ſuſpicion, which was not ſo much the effect of indifference, as the mark of a conſcience clear and irreproachable: it is not ſurpriſing therefore, that the artifices of my enemies, had made ſo deep an impreſſion in the mind of Henry. However, I have always, after this, laid it down for a maxim, that any ſovereign who imagines ſuch a conduct neceſſary to ſupport his intereſts and authority, takes the direct method to ruin both, by leſſening himſelf that reſpect and deference which he ought to oblige his ſubjects to ſhew to thoſe to whom he has confided thoſe intereſts, and by whom that honour is maintained.

When the three men, whom the king had employed in the affair of Grillon, had acquainted him with what I had ſaid, which had occaſioned thoſe tranſports of rage againſt me, Villeroi, Sillery, La Varenne, and father Cotton, came very ſeaſonably for him to diſcharge this heavy burthen. I had no reaſon to think, that this accidental meeting was a favourable effect of the influence of my ſtars; for he repeated my words to them, and his own ſentiments upon them, with the moſt violent emotions of rage. "How!" ſaid he to them, perceiving that they made him no anſwer, "you are ſilent, you "ſay not a word; but by heaven, purſued he, all "this looks ill; for ſince fire and water mingle ſo "well together (it was d'Epernon and me whom "he meant) there muſt be higher deſigns, at leaſt "on one ſide, than I could ever have imagined; "but I ſhall take care to prevent them." It was abſolutely in the power of thoſe four perſons, to whom the king addreſſed this diſcourſe, to prevent theſe ſuſpicions from going ſo far; one word only would have ſufficed: but they took care not to ſay that word, but, on the contrary, upon the king's ſaying,

ſaying, that while I continued faithful in my allegiance, and the performance of my duty, I was the moſt uſeful ſervant he had, and that he ſhould never ceaſe to lament the loſs of me, they, to add fuel to fire, under a feigned ſolicitude to alleviate his majeſty's diſquiet, began to praiſe with the utmoſt ardour, my great abilities in the management of affairs, the unwearied application I was capable of, and the active turn of my mind. From hence they inferred the great need which all the members of the ſtate had of me, and the dependance which that neceſſarily introduced; they exaggerated the high credit I had acquired among foreigners, and with what eaſe I could put every thing in motion, without ſtirring out of my cloſet: praiſes which I neither merited in their good nor bad ſenſe. Certainly envy can aſſume every diſguiſe, ſince it can oblige men, not only to praiſe thoſe whom they moſt abhor, but in their praiſes outdo flattery itſelf. 1605.

The four confidants had reaſon to applaud themſelves for this laſt ſtroke of policy, when they found they had not allayed the king's anger againſt me, but only to mix with it the ſtrongeſt emotions of jealouſy, diſtruſt, and apprehenſion: that this was the ſtate of his mind they were well aſſured, when he told them, that, if I reſigned myſelf up to the ambitious deſire of becoming head of a party, my credit was ſo great, and my friends ſo numerous, that I was able to do the ſtate more harm, than admiral Coligny had ever been able to do. My enemies now thought there was nothing more neceſſary to be done, but to ſuffer thoſe black ſuſpicions to work in his mind, and wait the effect; accordingly they took leave of the prince, after having thus inſtilled the poiſon into his heart. Henry, in this ſtate of mind, was no longer capable either of ſecreſy or art; he ſpoke of me publicly as of a rebel, and the whole court was immediately filled with the noiſe of my diſgrace, and the expectation of my approaching ruin.

1605. I had likewiſe many friends there, who had, a long time before matters came to this point, informed me of all that was practiſing againſt me by my enemies, and of what was ſaid by the king. I am not ſure, whether it would not have been more prudent to act upon this occaſion as I had already done on many others of the ſame nature, in which Henry of himſelf returned from his ſuſpicions and diſguſts, to his uſual manner of thinking with regard to me. It is a mortifying thing for innocence to be perpetually employed in ſupporting itſelf by proofs, and exaggerate its merit by praiſes: a man who thinks he ought to owe his elevation to virtue alone, feels an honeſt ſhame at being obliged to ſecure that elevation by methods leſs worthy; yet it is evident on many occaſions, that if virtue is not aſſiſted by chance and induſtry, her own ſtrength is not ſufficient to protect her from the hatred, and even from the contempt of the public. So many repeated advices as I received, determined me at length to write a letter to the king. His majeſty had not yet fixed for any conſiderable time, in any of his palaces, but had conſumed the months of January and February in journeys to Saint-Germain (where his children were) and Monceaux, ſtaying but a ſhort time at each place; and, on the 13th of March, the day on which my letter was dated, was at Chantilly. I ſhall not tranſcribe this letter here, as I have no crime to efface, nor no particular action to juſtify; it contained only general aſſurances of innocence, and arguments ſimple indeed and unſtudied, but which, on that very account, ought to have had the more weight.

I obſerved to his majeſty, that, during twenty-two of the thirty-three years which I had been in his ſervice, the favours I had received from him had been but very ſmall, although I had been at conſiderable expences; yet ſince that conſideration, the lowneſs of my fortunes, and the proſpect of a decent eſtabliſhment elſewhere, which might have given ſome

ſome excuſe for my abandoning him, could not prevail upon me to do ſo; it was not credible I ſhould do ſo now, when I ſaw myſelf ſo generouſly rewarded, when my fortune could only encreaſe, and when ſo many favours, which I every year received from my king in a manner wholly obliging, attached me no leſs to his perſon, than my offices and employments. It was not probable therefore, I ſaid, that I ſhould hazard the being deprived of one half of theſe advantages, by the hand which had heaped them on me, and of the reſt by the reverſes of fortune: that I defied all my enemies to charge me with the actual commiſſion of any crimes of which I could not clear myſelf, in two words, whenever his majeſty informed me of it; that all thoſe accuſations were no more than mere poſſibilities, upon which he was too wiſe and too juſt to condemn any perſon, under whatever colour of ſuppoſition, probability, imputation, calumny, or even of praiſe, they might be preſented to him: but ſetting all this aſide, I entreated him not to conclude me guilty, but upon ſolid proofs: that I ſhould wait without fear the efforts of my enemies, and ſubmit, without repugnance, to all the rigour of the law, and all the effects of his anger, if the ſmalleſt crime could be proved againſt me; being moſt certain that if, in the great number of employments with which I was inveſted, he could charge me with the commiſſion of any fault, it would not be where my honour or duty was concerned, but an effect of my ignorance or incapacity; in which caſe I was ready, at his leaſt command, to reſign all my offices into his hands, chuſing rather the obſcurity of a private life with his favour, than the ſplendor of the higheſt dignities with his hatred. 1605.

I was convinced, by the anſwer which his majeſty ſent me, that the informations I had received were not falſe; he addreſſed me in it with the title of couſin inſtead of friend: though ſhort it was not written with his own hand; a kind of circum-

1605. ſpection and reſerve, which was not uſual with him, ran through it, and not one word of conſolation found a place: the king only obſerved to me coldly, and in few words, that it was my buſineſs to ſuffer the world to talk of me as it pleaſed, and continue to ſerve him well. I pretended, however, to be ſatisfied with this letter, and, after having done all that was neceſſary upon this occaſion, conſcious of my own innocence, I was perſuaded that eagerneſs and precipitation did not become me; I therefore waited till his majeſty was willing to enter into a diſcuſſion of the affair with me, and continued to act as uſual.

The king, after ſtaying at Chantilly ſix or ſeven days, quitted it to return to Paris, where his preſence was neceſſary: he began to have a fondneſs for the former, from whence alſo he wrote to me, that he was much better in health (as I ſhould perceive by his countenance as ſoon as I ſaw him;) that he eat and ſlept well there, never riſing before ſeven o'clock, though he went to bed at ten or eleven. I expected, at leaſt, that he would mention my letter to me when he returned to Paris, but I was miſtaken; he took not the ſmalleſt notice of it, although he ſtayed there eight days, and four mornings ſucceſſively conferred with me on many different affairs as we walked in the Tuilleres: Villeroi and Sillery indeed were preſent. After giving us all the neceſſary orders, he ſet out for Fontainebleau, ſtill keeping up the ſame reſerve in all the letters he wrote me from thence, during the remainder of this month, as well upon general as private affairs.

It was here, as I obſerved a little before, that they ſupplied all which was yet wanting to make his majeſty reſolve my ruin; and, as he ſtaid there during the whole months of April and May, they had time ſufficient to effect their purpoſe, and brought him to the point we have already ſeen. Calumny is like fire, which, the fiercer it burns, is extinguiſhed the ſooner, if no more fuel be added

to

to it; and it is not ſo eaſy to ſupport it as ſome have imagined, eſpecially with princes who act on principle. If their imaginations be quick and lively, and their temper precipitate like Henry's, the paſſions once inflamed will, at firſt, carry them very far from their purpoſe, but never ſo far but that they may be brought back by reaſon: and from diſpoſitions like theſe one will have violent fits of anger to ſuſtain; but to make amends, there is neither obſtinate prejudice, imperfect reconciliations, nor ſtudied artifices to apprehend. It was this reaſon which induced me to wait with more patience than I ſhould otherways have done, for the iſſue of an affair ſo complicated and perplexed; and without altering my behaviour, either while I was at Paris, or in thoſe ſhort excurſions I made from time to time to Fontainbleau, I appeared always the ſame. My friends were not able to comprehend how I could enjoy a tranquillity which they were not capable of themſelves, although ſo fully perſuaded of my innocence, that all of them would have willingly become ſureties for my conduct: they expreſſed great ſurpriſe at his majeſty's behaviour to me, and could not keep ſilence at court, and probably in ſecret taxed the prince with injuſtice. All the kind offices of ſincere and affectionate relations I received from the family of Lorrain upon this occaſion. 1605.

At length my wiſhes and expectations were anſwered: the king finding that my enemies could bring no proofs of what they had advanced againſt me, he began to fear he had been a little too haſty: my paſt ſervices roſe to his remembrance; my preſent conduct, and the purport of my letter, dwelt upon his thoughts: he was ſtruck with all this, and regretted that he had ſuffered any expreſſions of anger to eſcape him, being convinced that nothing was more juſt and reaſonable than the requeſt I had made him, that he would not condemn me without proofs of my guilt. One day when I was at Fontainebleau,

1605. tainebleau, he ſent La Varenne, D'Eſcures, and Beringhen, to me on pretence of ſome buſineſs, ſuppoſing I ſhould tell them in confidence my difficulties and perplexity; however, I confined myſelf wholly to the buſineſs they came about, and avoided mentioning any other ſubject. Villeroi and Sillery were ſent to me afterwards for the ſame purpoſe, which I was convinced of as ſoon as I found that they had nothing to ſay to me, but on an affair of ſo little conſequence, that it was not worthy the trouble they gave themſelves; this was about a diſpatch from Ancel *, who managed the affairs of France at Vienna. I behaved to theſe gentlemen as I had done to the others: they had orders to make advances, and draw from me, at any price whatever, a confeſſion of my ſentiments upon the treatment I received from his majeſty. The reader will judge if they acquitted themſelves faithfullly of their commiſſion, and like true mediators: they turned the converſation, from buſineſs, to the danger and difficulty of ſerving princes, and the mortification miniſters are frequently expoſed to, and the uneaſineſs which ſlander muſt give to a man of honour: they afterwards gave me to underſtand more plainly, that a miniſter was not defended from theſe inconveniences under the reigning king.

I ſaw clearly enough, that theſe two gentlemen, by talking in this manner, executed indeed the orders they had received, but with ſo much additional art on their ſide, as made it evident they were very ſolicitous to find ſome occaſion of realiſing my ſuppoſed crime, when they made their report to his majeſty. To adopt their ſentiments had been inſolence, and ſilence might have been conſtrued into obſtinacy and pride: I therefore replied, with great compoſure, that I did not doubt but that there were princes in the world ſuch as they repreſented, but that his majeſty was too juſt and too good, to treat, in that

* William Ancel, maſter of the houſhold, reſident at Vienna.

manner,

manner, ſuch ſervants whoſe behaviour had been irreproachable, as for example I believed my own to be; that I was ſo well perſuaded of this truth, that, although I ſhould hear the contrary from his own mouth, yet I ſhould ſtill think his tongue but ill explained the meaning of his heart. Theſe words were ſufficient to diſconcert theſe malicious commiſſioners; but they had recourſe to other artifices to force from me ſome expreſſion of complaint or anger; and finding that they were not able to effect their purpoſe, they returned to tell his majeſty not what I had ſaid, but that I had ſaid nothing at all, and that, contrary to my uſual cuſtom, I was ſo wrapt up in reſerve, that I had not deigned to utter a ſingle word. From hence it was eaſy to judge what theſe two gentlemen would have ſaid, if I had given them the leaſt opportunity of entrapping me. During the remainder of this day, I ſaw only ſuch meſſengers as thoſe; but was fully determined not to open myſelf, on this ſubject, to the king himſelf, unleſs he led to it firſt: and that he might ſee no alteration in my conduct, I prepared to ſet out the next morning for Paris, as the evening before I had told him I would. 1605.

I waited on his majeſty as uſual, to receive his orders before I went away; I found him in his cloſet, ſurrounded by the courtiers who were come to his levee, and getting himſelf booted to go to the chace. At my entrance, he aroſe half up from his chair, one of his boots being already on, and pulling off his hat to me, bid me good morrow, ceremoniouſly calling me monſieur: all which diſcovered a mind either grieved or perplexed. His uſual ſtyle to me was, My friend Roſny, or Grand maſter; but that confuſion of mind he appeared to labour under, when, without ſeeming to know what he did, he ſtruck the little ivory cylinders which he had in his hand one againſt the other, convinced me that I was not miſtaken, when I concluded there was neither anger nor diſguſt in this behaviour. I had likewiſe

1605. likewiſe made him a much more profound bow than uſual, which, as he afterwards told me, moved him ſo much, that it was with difficulty he could reſtrain himſelf from falling that inſtant upon my neck. He continued muſing ſome moments longer, and then told Beringhen that it was not a good day for the chace, and that he would be unbooted. Beringhen, ſurpriſed at this ſudden change of his intentions, replied, a little imprudently, that it was a very fine day. "It is not a fine day," replied Henry, with ſome emotion; "I will not "ride this morning; take off my boots." That done, the king entered into a converſation, directing himſelf ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another, and chuſing ſuch ſubjects as he thought would afford me an opportunity of ſpeaking: but obſerving I was ſtill ſilent, he took Bellegarde by the hand; "M. "Le Grand, ſaid he, let us walk, I would talk "with you a little, that you may ſet out to day on "your journey to Burgundy." They had ſome private buſineſs together, which related chiefly to ſome idle tales and quarrels of women.

When they came to the door of the little ſtaircaſe which leads to the queen's garden, the king called L'Oſerai, and, as he afterwards told me, bid him obſerve whether I followed him; and if I turned another way, not to fail to inform him immediately of it. I ſtaid in the ſame place during the whole time that his majeſty was talking to M. Le Grand, in the walk that leads to the garden of the Conciergerie; but I obſerved that he often turned his eyes upon me. After Bellegarde had taken leave of the king I advanced, and deſired to know if his majeſty had any orders for me. "And where are you "going?" ſaid he, "To Paris, ſire, replied I, "upon the buſineſs you ſpoke to me of two days "ſince." "Well, go then, replied the king; I "ſtill recommend to you the care of my affairs, "and deſire that you ſhould continue to love me." I bowed low; he embraced me as uſual, and I took

took the road to my own houſe; but ſcarce was I got to the diſtance of three hundred paces, when looking back I ſaw La-Varenne running after me, crying, Monſieur, the king would ſpeak with you. His majeſty, ſeeing me return, ſtruck into the road which leads to the Kennel, and calling to me while I was yet at a diſtance, "Come hither, ſaid he: "have you nothing to ſay to me?" "No, ſire, "I replied, not at preſent." "Well then, I have "ſomething to ſay to you," anſwered he with precipitation; and taking my hand, led me into the grove of white mulberry-trees, and ordered two Swiſs centinels, who did not underſtand French, to be placed at the entrance of the canals which ſurrounded the grove. 1605.

The king began by embracing me twice in a moſt affectionate manner, which the courtiers eaſily perceived, for we were within view, and they carefully watched all our geſtures; then calling me friend, and reſuming his former familiarity with me, he told me with a look and accent which went to my heart, that the coldneſs and reſerve with which we had for a month paſt behaved towards each other, muſt needs be very painful to two perſons who, for three and thirty years, had been accuſtomed to the moſt unlimited confidence, and that it was time to deprive thoſe who were the cauſe of it of an occaſion of triumph, which flattered too much their hatred of me, and the envy with which they beheld his and his kingdom's increaſing proſperity. The heart of this good prince opening as he ſpoke to me, he added, that, earneſtly deſiring we ſhould both forget what had happened, he thought it neceſſary to leave me ignorant of nothing that had paſſed on his ſide, either with reſpect to the informations which had been given him againſt me, the effects they had produced in his mind, and laſtly, the words and actions by which he had made thoſe unfavourable impreſſions public. He intreated, commanded, and made me promiſe to follow the example he was going to

1605. to give me, to diſcover to him all the different emotions with which I had been agitated, and my ſentiments both of the treatment I had received from him, and of the affair itſelf, with the ſame unreſerved freedom he ſhould uſe towards me; "That "before we leave this place, ſaid he, our minds may "be wholly freed from doubts and ſuſpicion, and "both perfectly ſatisfied with each other; there- "fore, as I ſhall open my whole heart freely to you, "I muſt intreat you will not diſguiſe yours from "me." I gave him my word of honour that I would moſt faithfully obey this injunction.

The king then began firſt, by naming all thoſe perſons who had endeavoured to injure me with him on that occaſion, as well in effects as words, among which there were ſome of all ranks and ages, and many who had ſerved his majeſty as long as myſelf; theſe I believe I may divide into ſeven claſſes; in the firſt I ſhall place the princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown; in the ſecond, the king's miſtreſſes, with their children, and ſuch as either through the ties of blood or friendſhip ſupported their intereſts and ſerved their paſſions, among theſe were Cœuvres, Freſnes, Forget, Puget, Placin, Vallon, and many more; the marchioneſs of Verneuil was at the head of all. The rage which animated theſe two claſſes againſt me was excited by my having retrenched their gratuities: the third was compoſed of the partiſans of Spain, and the remains of the old leaguers, whoſe politics and principles of government could not agree with the king's or with mine; and this claſs was encreaſed by many members of the council, Villeroi, Sillery, Freſnes, Forget, and others, who acted in concert with the Jeſuits: in the fourth I comprehend all the petit-maitres, court-favourites, and idle inſignificant perſons, who load Paris with an uſeleſs weight; theſe were actuated by their reſentment againſt me, for preventing his majeſty from beſtowing ſuch favours on them as they expected, and for the oppoſition

ſition of my manner of living and conduct to theirs; 1605.
the number of theſe is too great, and themſelves too contemptible, to ſully the paper with their names: the fifth was made up of the ſeditious and malecontents of France, whom the flouriſhing condition of the kingdom, the wiſe œconomy of Henry, and the preparations he was making, which rendered him too powerful, incited to conſpire my ruin: the financiers and other men of buſineſs made up the ſixth, and they indeed had no reaſon to be much my friends.

The ſeventh and laſt claſs was compoſed of another kind of court-flatterers, ſomewhat inferior to thoſe I have already mentioned; theſe were ever ready to give advice, and ſought to make their court to the prince by continually furniſhing him with new projects for raiſing money; men for the moſt part formerly in place, and to whom nothing more of their once ſhining fortune remained, than the deteſtable ſcience of impoveriſhing the people; which for their own intereſt, and by an effect of a long habitude in guilt, they endeavoured to teach his majeſty; but finding that this trade was become much leſs profitable to them, ſince his majeſty had confided to me the ſole management of his finances, they practiſed another art which diſcovered diſpoſitions nearly the ſame; this was, to invent ſlanders, dreſs up detraction like truth, and be the venal inſtruments of thoſe who either durſt not or would not appear themſelves in the ſatirical libels which filled the court; it was by them that theſe contemptible pieces were compoſed, ſpread abroad, and the truth of them maintained and propagated; the dangerous talent of raillery, and lively ſallies of wit, opened them a way to the company and familiarity of Henry, who loved an eaſy and ſpirited converſation. Although he was perhaps upon his guard againſt their malignant ſtrokes at me, yet he could not at length avoid being touched by them. Some of thoſe whom at firſt he had deſpiſed or baniſhed from his preſence, found means afterwards to make themſelves be heard.

1605. In this liſt would be found none but names ſo obſcure, that they do not deſerve to be raked from the duſt, ſuch as Juvigny, Paraſis, Le Maine, Beaufort, Berſot, Longuet, Chalange, Verſenai, Santeny, &c. if Sancy, who merits the firſt place among them, had not completed his own diſhonour by this vile trade, which helped to retard his ruin, when his folly and exceſs had left him no other reſource. He was obliged to ſell his jewels, and offered them to the king, who, becauſe he was not willing they ſhould go out of the kingdom, ordered me to purchaſe them.

The king, after recounting the names of the authors, give me a detail of their artifices. All that the wit of man could deviſe, when animated by an eager deſire to deſtroy, was practiſed by them; where-ever the king turned his ſteps, he ſaw nothing but informations, letters, libels, billets, and other papers of the ſame kind, not to mention the political memorials with which they preſented him, under ſhew of zeal for the ſtate, and affection for his perſon; theſe papers he found under his table, under the carpet of his chamber, and under his pillow; they cauſed them to be preſented to him by perſons unknown, they were given into his own hand in the form of petitions, and crammed into his ſleeves and pockets. I was there painted in the moſt hateful colours, and the moſt injurious epithets were not ſpared, except when by the refinement of thoſe treacherous praiſes which I have already mentioned, they exaggerated to his majeſty my unwearied induſtry, my great abilities, the depth of my judgment, my manners, once rude and forbidding, now, as they ſaid, became gracious and obliging to all. Henry, with great ſincerity, owned to me, that he was ſo impoſed upon by theſe artifices, that he had almoſt entirely loſt the good opinion he had once conceived of me; and that theſe wretches had contrived to fill him with ſuch a deſire of knowing all their intentions, that at the very time when he

ſeemed ſo weary of that infinite number of libels and informations, as to throw them aſide without taking any notice of them; yet afterwards he could not reſiſt the inclination he felt to collect them together, and cauſe them to be read to him. 1605.

It muſt neceſſarily be, that this prince was prejudiced in a ſtrange manner, ſince he could not perceive that theſe writings were often no leſs injurious to himſelf than to me; as for example, when he read, that I made him mercenary and unjuſt to thoſe that ſerved him faithfully, to whom, under pretended compenſation for old debts, he refuſed what they had a lawful claim to; they likewiſe imputed weakneſs and timidity to him, in writing to me on all theſe occaſions, which certainly was not greatly to his honour, whether in him they made it an excuſe for his avarice, or a mark of his dependance. It was by theſe inſinuations they began at firſt; and while they went no farther, the king, who found only new occaſions to praiſe my adminiſtration, was not prejudiced againſt me; but to put theſe critics to ſilence, he only required ſummaries of the ſtate debts which I had diſcharged to ſhew them; and as for me, when I had an opportunity I ſeverely reproved thoſe perſons for their too free cenſures, while, under a falſe pretence of being denied juſtice, they ſuffered expreſſions to eſcape them in their rage, with which his majeſty had good reaſon to be offended. But they ſoon left theſe ſlight accuſations for others of greater conſequence.

Henry, to excuſe the credulity with which he had believed theſe ſlanders, would have me judge myſelf of the libels in which they were contained. But as it would have been a tedious taſk to read them all, he fixed upon one * which Juvigny had ſhewn him

* This book was intituled, A political diſcourſe, ſhewing the king in what reſpects his majeſty is ill ſerved. "It was privately "handed about at Paris, ſays "l'Etoile, in MS. The ſtyle "of it was ſomewhat free and "bold for thoſe times, when all "truths were not allowed to be "ſpoke; it nevertheleis did not "contain any thing againſt the "king or his ſervice, but many "things againſt M. de Roſny."

1605. twelve days before, and which had been made public, becauſe in this all the different calumnies which were ſcattered throughout many other libels had been collected, which made it as complete as a work of that kind could be: there was indeed ſome little intricacy in it, but it was writ, however, with a ſufficient force of ſtyle and judgment to perſuade his majeſty that it proceeded from ſome other hand than Juvigny, whoſe powers it greatly exceeded. The king, taking this paper out of his pocket, told me, that by reading it I might poſſibly help him to find out the author, whoſe name he would be glad to know. I received it from his majeſty's hands, and read it from beginning to end in his preſence. The reader, if he pleaſes, may here ſee the ſubſtance of it, for it is not my intent to conceal any part of it.

The author, whoever he was, began (and indeed no writing had ever more need of ſuch a precaution) by endeavouring to clear himſelf of all ſuſpicion of envy or prejudice: the great qualities of Henry, the happineſs which France enjoyed under his reign, the advantageous ſituation of his affairs, made a ſecond preamble very proper to captivate the good-will of this prince, and ſtill more to lead naturally to the accuſation he was to make againſt me, of having inſolently boaſted, that this happineſs was my ſole work; and from thence, with great art, introduced this reflection, that it was but too common for miniſters of ſuch abilities, and favourites with ſo much power, to engage in deſigns pernicious to the ſovereign and the ſtate. A crowd of examples, eloquently diſplayed, finiſhed this part of the picture.

From thence the author proceeded, not to examine my actions, which alone could afford a juſt proof of his aſſertions, but to criticiſe my manners; and in the gracious reception I had lately given to all perſons in general who came to my houſe, found an unanſwerable proof of thoſe pernicious deſigns; and added, that the number of perſons, from the

princes of the blood, down to the moſt inconſidera- 1605.
ble of the people, which by this ſtudied civility I had gained over to my intereſts, was almoſt incredible. He attempted to enumerate this crowd of partiſans, which could not indeed but be very conſiderable, ſince all that this accuſation was founded upon, was that complaiſance and politeneſs of behaviour which in France it is the cuſtom to treat every one with: the prince of Conti and the duke of Montpenſier were at the top of the liſt; then the whole family of Lorrain; ſeveral French lords came next: my reconciliation with the duke of Epernon, becauſe followed by a ſincere and reciprocal friendſhip, was miſrepreſented under the name of an union formed by a boundleſs ambition. Meſſieurs de Montbazon, de Ventadour, de Fervaques, d'Ornano, de Saint-Geran, de Praſlin, de Grammont, d'Aubetterre, de Montigny, de Schomberg, and others, were likewiſe mentioned as perſons whom I attached to my intereſt by the diſtinction with which I treated them, the ſervices I was perpetually doing them, and the diſtribution I made amongſt them of part of his majeſty's treaſures, which I was ſo ſparing of to all others.

All this not being ſufficient to give probability to thoſe views the author attributed to me, he added to it the correſpondences I carried on without the kingdom. He mentioned an expreſſion which fell from the king of England, and which might well be conſidered as a mere compliment, *That the king of France was happy in having me*; and made it an argument to prove, that I had violated the faith I owed to my prince; that not only his Britannic majeſty, but likewiſe the States-general of the United Provinces, the dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-Ponts, the landgrave of Heſſe, the prince of Anhalt, the marquiſſes of Anſpach, Dourlach, and Baden, were ready to take my part blindly, and engage openly in my defence: the ſlighteſt ſervice which any of them received from me, was conſtrued into a criminal in-

1605. trigue. All the proteſtant bodies, whether French or foreigners, as well as the Helvetian ſenate, being gained by the regularity of their payments, and by largeſſes from me, were ſaid to be abſolutely devoted my to intereſts.

After having thus made the firſt eſſay with accuſations which carried in them ſome little appearance of probability, the author became more hardy, and impudently hazarded others, the falſity of which appeared at the firſt view. According to him I did not content myſelf any longer with my correſpondences in foreign countries alone; but by ſending his majeſty's money into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Swiſſerland, I was laying up for myſelf immenſe ſums, in order to retire there one day, and, as opportunities offered, make levies of Swiſs, German horſe, and Lanſquenets, to ſupport the proteſtant religion, and, after the example of admiral Coligny, give up France to be preyed upon by theſe troops. The author, who doubtleſs was ſenſible that a minute detail of circumſtances was generally conſidered as a mark of truth and ſincerity, particularized this event as if he was already a witneſs of it; he alledged, that by purchaſing arms, iron, lead, braſs, bullets, and other warlike ſtores for his majeſty's magazines, I had alſo private magazines of my own, in each of the ſtrongeſt proteſtant cities, where I depoſited thoſe ſtores in my own name. Certainly theſe people would have had reaſon to congratulate themſelves upon the ſucceſs of theſe arts, if by this accuſation they could have prevailed upon the king to diſcontinue his preparations. This admirable piece concluded with an exhortation to his majeſty, to confide no longer to one perſon the management of his revenue, the uſe of his authority, and the adminiſtration of his affairs; but to aſſociate with me ſome perſons who might keep a vigilant eye over my conduct.

While I was reading this memorial Henry obſerved me with great attention, but finding that I

read it as I would have done any indifferent paper in which I was not the leaſt concerned, without ſaying a ſingle word, without betraying the leaſt emotion, or even any change of colour; "Well, what do you "think of it?" ſaid he. "What is your opinion "of it, ſire? replied I, you that have read it more "than once, and kept it ſo long in your hands; "for my part, I am not ſo much ſurpriſed at theſe "ſort of writings, which in effect are nothing but "the trifling production of fooliſh and wicked men, "as to find that ſo great a king, poſſeſſed of ſo "much wiſdom, courage, and goodneſs, and who "has known me for ſo many years, would have "patience to read them himſelf, and hear me read "them throughout in his preſence, without at "leaſt ſhewing by his anger the violence he did "himſelf in liſtening to ſuch calumnies, and with-"out ordering the authors to be ſought for to pu-"niſh them ſeverely." 1605.

After having thus ſpoken, I conſidered that the moſt effectual way to reſtore peace to the king's mind, and revive in him all his former ſentiments of me, was to give a direct and particular anſwer to each of the accuſations which my enemies brought againſt me; and this I had given him my word I would do. I confined myſelf therefore to Juvigny's libel, which I had ſtill in my hands, that I might give a ſeparate anſwer to each article. The reſt of my enemies, who durſt not attack me openly, for fear of being obliged to produce their proofs, merited only contempt: and it was with this obſervation that I began my anſwer. To the preſumptuous and injurious diſcourſes of his majeſty's government, which they attributed to me, I oppoſed thoſe words I had ſo often in my mouth, in which I pointed out the king as a model for thoſe princes who would be good and great to form themſelves by. The examples they produced of miniſters who became traitors, and favourites ungrateful, could not affect the fidelity of a man who, like me, had la-

1605. boured to perfect thoſe great and amiable qualities he had derived from his illuſtrious anceſtors. I defied them to produce a ſingle perſon, whether a friend or kinſman, to whom I had given any gratuity without a ſufficient reaſon, and a particular order from his majeſty. Againſt the traiterous deſigns they imputed to me, of fomenting the civil wars, I appealed to Henry's knowledge of the affection I bore to my country, the attachment I ever had to his perſon, my ſolicitude for my own honour and reputation, and the oppoſition I had given on every occaſion to the ill deſigns of the proteſtants, which had drawn the whole weight of their reſentment upon me.

Beſides, what advantage could I promiſe myſelf from theſe chimerical ſchemes, which I did not at preſent poſſeſs in the greateſt and moſt honourable ſtation to which any ſubject could aſpire? what could be my aim? To place the crown on my own head? my enemies themſelves did not accuſe me of ſuch a frantic ambition; to carry it out of the royal family, altho' it were in my power to diſpoſe of it, on whom could I fix my choice, but the prince to whom I had, during thirty years, conſecrated all my labours and my ſervices, and for whoſe intereſt I had ſhed my blood, and devoted my life? Why, if I was the traitor they inſinuated, did I ſtill bend my whole cares to the increaſe of his glory, by thoſe noble deſigns which if I did not ſuggeſt, I was at leaſt the ſole confidant and promoter of? if I had views prejudicial to his crown, or dangerous to his perſon, why did I ſo earneſtly ſeek to engage him in all thoſe alliances with England, and the other powers of Europe? was not this acting directly againſt myſelf? is it by purſuing ſuch meaſures as theſe, that ambitious and deſigning ſubjects have endeavoured to bring about revolutions, and to ruin the ſtate? was it not rather by enervating the mind of their maſter, ſoothing his inclinations to luxury, indulging his paſſions, prevailing on him to violate the

laws,

laws, to neglect all order and government. and to throw every part of the ſtate into confuſion? whereas I was continually laying before his majeſty the ſtate of his affairs, informing him of the uſe and deſtination of his money, and carrying my ſolicitude for order and œconomy ſo far, as to reproach him with even the ſmalleſt needleſs expence: I amaſſed him treaſure, filled his magazines and arſenals, pointed out to him the means of rendering himſelf formidable to all Europe. It is not thus that rebellious ſubjects act, when they ſecretly undermine the foundations of their ſovereign's power. The conduct of miniſters is always equivocal in ſome part or other; however, I may truly ſay, that mine might ſtand the teſt of the ſtricteſt examination. 1605.

It was eaſy for me to perceive that his majeſty felt all the force of theſe arguments; I concluded them with imploring him, in the moſt fervent manner, to believe that I had neither concealed nor diſguiſed from him any of the thoughts of my heart; I confirmed theſe aſſurances by the moſt ſacred oaths, which he knew I never uttered raſhly; I addreſſed him by all thoſe reverenced and tender epithets which had, at all times, been the expreſſions of my zeal and attachment to his perſon. I would have embraced his knees, but he would not ſuffer it, leſt thoſe who beheld this poſture might imagine I had recourſe to it to obtain his pardon for a real crime: he told me, that he was fully convinced of my fidelity, that he ſincerely repented of his too eaſy belief, and that he would never remember what was paſſed, but to impreſs upon his mind the obligation he was under to love me the better for it. This was the reſult of a conference which had been ſo neceſſary to reſtore quiet to us both.

Thoſe who have any knowledge of a court, may eaſily gueſs the emotions that agitated the hearts of the courtiers, during a converſation which laſted more than four hours, and with what attention our words and actions were obſerved; for though it was

1605. not poſſible for them to hear what we ſaid, yet they could not be ignorant of the ſubject we were upon. The manner in which Henry had received me in the morning, his recalling me after I had left him, the precaution he had uſed at the beginning of our converſation, the papers he had taken with him, the earneſt manner in which we ſeemed to diſcourſe, was ſufficient to inform them of the reſt; each, according to his fears or hopes, expected the reſult of ſo important an explanation between us.

Henry was willing to tell it them himſelf. After receiving the papers again from me, which he was reſolved to throw into the fire, he went out to the grove of mulberry trees holding me by the hand, and aſked this crowd of courtiers who were got together, what it was o'clock; they anſwered, it was one o'clock, and that he had been walking a long time. "I have ſo," ſaid the prince, in an accent which ſpread a paleneſs on every cheek; "but there "are ſome preſent who are more weary than I am; "however, to conſole them, I here declare before "you all, that Roſny is dearer to me than ever, "and that our friendſhip will continue till death; "and you, my friend," purſued he, turning to me, "go home to dinner, and love me and ſerve me, "for I am fully ſatisfied with you." Many others in the ſame ſituation I was would have * made uſe of their returning favour and intereſt, to exact vengeance on thoſe who had laboured thus to procure their diſgrace; but I thank heaven that I have not the reproach to make myſelf, of having even entertained ſuch a thought. I careſully concealed their names from my ſecretaries, nor will I mention them here; I likewiſe ſuppreſs part of what the king ſaid to me to their diſadvantage: though they have acted

* The ſieur de Juvigny or Divigny, a French gentleman, author of the abovementioned memorial, ſuffered for all the reſt: a proſecution was carried on againſt him for high treaſon, and he was found guilty, condemned to death, and all his effects to be confiſcated; but having made his eſcape, he was hanged in effigy at Paris.

in

in a quite contrary manner, yet it cannot alter my opinion, that this ſort of revenge is unworthy of a generous mind. 1605.

That I might remove all cauſe of uneaſineſs from the king, concerning the affair which has led me into ſo particular an account of this great difference between us, I managed Grillon with ſuch art, that he at length conſented to take thirty thouſand crowns of Crequy for his poſt, which, in reſpect to Leſdiguieres, his majeſty had permitted that nobleman to purchaſe *. This drew many acknowledgments to me from the father-in-law and the ſon. Crequy came in perſon to make me theſe compliments, and added to them repeated aſſurances of gratitude and affection: Leſdiguieres wrote to me from Grenoble, and expreſſed himſelf in terms ſtill ſtronger than Crequy had done. As we were before connected by alliances between our families, this laſt ſervice they had received from me, made every one expect to ſee us for the future intimate friends; however, there was not any perſon by whom I was ſo eaſily abandoned, or received ſo many bad offices from after the death of Henry, as from theſe two men: gratitude is not a virtue to be found amongſt courtiers.

The heart of Henry being once tainted with ſuſpicions to my prejudice, it was not impoſſible but that the wound might again be opened. It was this hope that ſupported my enemies amidſt the mortifications and grief they ſuffered from the adventure at Fontainebleau. It was not long before they again returned to the charge, and (it is with regret

* Henry IV. though extremely diſſatisfied with the duke of Epernon, who had retired to Angoulême, and made great complaints of the injuſtice he pretended the king had done him on this occaſion, yet inſiſted that M. de Crequy ſhould wait on him as his colonel, at the diſtance of a hundred leagues from Paris, to take the oaths before him, get his commiſſion allowed by him, and receive his orders for being inveſted in his poſt. The duke of Epernon made him dance attendance after him for ſeveral days, and ſuffered him to wait a whole day at the door of his chamber. Hiſtory of the duke of Epernon, p. 112.

I ſay

1605. I ſay it) were almoſt as ſucceſsful as before *: the affair, however, did not become as public as the former had been, becauſe it was ſooner followed by an explanation, and it is needleſs to repeat it here. If my enemies from time to time enjoyed the pleaſure of believing that I ſhould ſink under their efforts, yet they were ſoon undeceived, and thoſe ineffectual attempts but increaſed their ſhame and rage; and had I been of a diſpoſition to enjoy ſuch victories, this laſt, being not leſs complete than the other, would have afforded me ſufficient matter for triumph: it was likewiſe at Fontainebleau, that the king and I came to an explanation of this ſecond difference; and the morning afterwards the king ſent for me very early. As ſoon as I entered his chamber he took my hand, and led me towards a croſs-barred window which looked into the queen's garden, having ſomewhat to impart to me in private; but as we paſſed, he ſaid aloud, in the preſence of the whole court, "You cannot conceive, my friend, "how eaſily and happily I ſlept this night, after "having opened my heart to you, and had all my

* "The king, "ſays le Grain, b. vii. "advanced the duke of "Sully in ſuch a manner, that he "always reſerved a ſufficient au- "thority over him; and who "knows but it might perhaps be "a prudential meaſure in the king, "thus to expoſe him to the ha- "tred of many, againſt whom he "was very able to protect him, "in order to keep him under ap- "prehenſions of what might be "the effects of his failing in his "duty." This paſſage in our Memoirs ſeems, at firſt ſight, to offer ſomething in favour of this conjecture: the opinion of thoſe nevertheleſs, who think there was no artifice in the ſuſpicions Henry IV. conceived againſt the duke of Sully, appears to me better founded; but whether his ſuſpicions were feigned or real, I alſo think, as many other perſons of ſenſe do, that they ought to be reckoned among that prince's defects. According to the firſt ſuppoſition, a low cunning unbecoming the character of ſo great a king is apparent; and according to the ſecond, a piece of injuſtice, for which the firſt movements of a haſty paſſion would be no excuſe, there being a kind of agreement between this prince and his miniſter, that the firſt ſhould overlook, in the character of the other, that firmneſs and inflexibility of temper, incapable of a baſe ſubmiſſion and flattery, in conſideration of a fidelity eſtabliſhed on ſuch numberleſs proofs. This is a ſufficient evidence, that the performance of the moſt important ſervices will not diſpenſe a man from a flexibility to, and compliance with, the humour of princes, even the moſt perfect.

"doubts

" doubts cleared up." He then aſked me, if I did not feel the ſame calm ſatisfaction; I replied that I did, and that he ſhould always find in me the ſame fidelity and affection. 1605.

In the midſt of a favour ſo often interrupted by little jealouſies and heats, what convinced me that the heart of Henry always leaned towards me was, that however diſſatisfied my enemies might ſometimes by their inſinuations make him with me, yet it never interrupted the courſe of thoſe benefits with which it was his conſtant cuſtom to load me and my family. I had proofs of his beneficence with reſpect to my eldeſt daughter, amidſt thoſe very ſtorms I have mentioned *. I had engaged my word to Fervaques, to give her to the young Laval, whom his majeſty, as I have formerly obſerved, ordered me to prefer to the duke of Rohan; and the affair was upon the point of being concluded. One day, about the beginning of this year, when I was walking with the king upon the terrace belonging to the Capuchins, he again introduced this ſubject, and told me his reaſons for deſiring me to reject the duke of Rohan, which were, that the marriage of this lord with my daughter had been propoſed by the princeſs Catherine to the dutcheſs of Rohan, and accepted by my wife, without acquainting him with it; and likewiſe becauſe monſieur and madam de

* Margaret de Bethune. This lady, to be revenged on her only daughter, who, againſt her will, had married Henry de Chabot, in the year 1645, ſet up a boy about fifteen years old, as being really her ſon by the duke of Rohan who died ſeven years before, " Many perſons of credit, ſays Amelot, who " have ſeen Tancred (the name of " this pretended heir to the houſe " of Rohan) have aſſured me, that " he had the topping of the Rohan " family, which is a ſmall tuft of " hair on the forehead, and that " the features of his face were remarkably like thoſe of his ſuppoſed father." To this anecdote we may add another, by which it is pretended that the duke of Rohan had a mind to purchaſe the kingdom of Cyprus of the Grand Signior for this child: it was alſo ſaid, that his father and mother had kept him concealed only that they might marry their daughter to the count of Soiſſons, and afterwards the duke of Weimar. See theſe curious fables in Amelot de La-Houſſaye, article Bethune, &c. and art. Chypre.

Fervaques

1605. Fervaques had ſo earneſtly ſolicited his intereſt in favour of Laval, that he had promiſed them to give him to me for a ſon-in-law, rather than the duke of Rohan, who was not ſo rich indeed, but had the honour to be ſo nearly related to him, that, if he died without children, as the princeſs his ſiſter had done, the duke of Rohan would ſucceed to his kingdom of Navarre, and the other eſtates of the families of Albert, Foix, and Armagnac: he then added, that, for other reaſons which he would acquaint me with, he had again altered his opinion, and that it was his intention I ſhould break with the family of Fervaques as decently as I could. Having already prepared them for this change of my reſolution, he deſired me to withdraw the contracts and articles which had been agreed upon between us, in ſuch a manner, that the breaking off the match ſhould appear entirely my own act, and that they might not have any room to ſay they had refuſed an alliance with me. He added, that he would himſelf bring the duke of Rohan to pay his compliments, with the dutcheſs his mother, and expected that I would receive him as one who was to be my ſon-in-law within three days, having already ſettled every thing relating to the marriage himſelf; that he would have the contract drawn up in his preſence, and would ſign it as the kinſman of both parties.

I thanked his majeſty for the intereſt he took in my family, and the honour he conferred upon me. The affair was managed as he had directed; the king gave the bridegroom ten thouſand crowns for the wedding-clothes and expences, and the like ſum to my daughter. The year before, I had married mademoiſelle Du-Marais, my wife's daughter by her firſt huſband, to La-Boulaye, the ſon of him whom Henry had loved ſo much: ſhe had no reaſon to expect any other gratuity from his majeſty, than that which is generally given to all the queen's maids of honour, under the title of a preſent for the nuptial robe, and had been ſettled at two thouſand crowns:

crowns: the king raiſed it to five thouſand in favour of my daughter-in-law; but that it might not be made a precedent for others, he ordered me to carry it to account. 1605.

It was uſual with his majeſty, after he had cleared the accounts of his expences in fortifications and buildings, to ſay to me, in the preſence of the officers employed in thoſe works, who attended to know his pleaſure concerning farther improvements in them, "Well, you ſee my fortifications and "buildings are reſolved upon, what have you done "to your houſes?" To which, when I replied, as I ſeldom failed to do, that I could do nothing to them for want of money; he would anſwer, "Well, "ſhew me your plans, that I may know what you "would do if you had money." And after examining them, and telling me what he thought it would be neceſſary to alter, he added, that he would give me twenty thouſand livres to enable me to make thoſe alterations he pointed out to me.

However, I ſometimes requeſted favours of him which he refuſed to grant, and I ſhall not have the vanity to conceal it: he would not give the poſt which had formerly been the baron de Lux's to my brother, or to La-Curée, for either of whom I requeſted it; telling me, that for Bethune, he deſigned a poſt in Brittany which would ſuit him better; and that as for La-Curée, he did not think that employment compatible with the poſt of lieutenant of a company of light-horſe, and the government of Chinon, which he already poſſeſſed. The truth was, he choſe to give it to Ragny, who could do him greater ſervice in the province. I aſked the other favours of him in the ſame letter, the one for my nephew de Melun, and the other for La-Boulaye: he told me, that La Boulaye had not yet, by his ſervices, merited ſuch an inſtance of his bounty, but he granted the other, which was, the abbey of Moreilles in Poitou, lately become vacant. I received another refuſal from him, if it may be called

1605. led ſo, in which my ſon-in-law the duke of Rohan was concerned: the occaſion of it was this:

The duke of Rohan was governor of Saint-John d'Angely, of which place Des Ageaux was the king's lieutenant: it was not the governor, to whom in juſtice it belonged, that named this lieutenant, but his majeſty, who thought it neceſſary, for the good of his ſervice, to deprive the governor of this privilege, that the lieutenant, who, in troubleſome times, had hitherto always played an important part in affairs, might in ſome degree be independent of the governor, and in a condition to render his power ineffectual, if he ſhould not uſe it to the king's ſatisfaction, and for the advantage of the ſtate. The lieutenant therefore was, in reality, poſſeſſed of the whole authority, and the governor had only an empty title. The duke of Rohan, who earneſtly wiſhed to have this prerogative reſtored to the governor, entreated me to ſolicit the king for that purpoſe, a favourable opportunity offering itſelf by the ſickneſs of Des Ageaux, who, it was thought, would never recover. Whatever inclination I had to do my ſon-in-law this ſervice, I durſt not make the propoſal to the king directly, the requeſt having too much conformity with that ſtate of dependence into which my enemies had inſinuated I ſought to place all the * proteſtant cities: nothing more would have been wanting to renew all his ſuſpicions. I reſolved therefore to ſound him firſt upon the ſubject, which I did very artfully, taking occaſion, upon the news of Des Ageaux's ſickneſs, to aſk his majeſty whom he had thought of to ſupply his place if he died: it was by letters that I made this

* It is ſaid in the Hiſt. de la mere & du fils, vol. I. p. 15, that Henry IV. refuſed the duke of Sully the government of Saint-Maixant, which the queen herſelf, at the duke's requeſt, deſired of the king for him, ſaying, Prudence would not permit the making a Calviniſt maſter of that place, ſmall as it was. If any thing could make one doubt of the truth of this fact beſides M. de Sully's ſilence in relation to it, the facility with which that prince granted him the government of the whole province muſt be ſufficient.

attempt;

attempt; but I would go no further till I had received his majeſty's anſwer. The king, in his anſwer, told me, that he did not intend to renounce his right of naming the lieutenant of Saint-John, becauſe it would not always be the duke of Rohan, nor my ſon-in-law, who would be governor of that place. I mentioned Pouſou, the mayor of that city, to him, whom he continued in that office upon the character I gave of him. Des Ageaux recovering of his ſickneſs, no farther ſteps were taken in the affair. 1605.

Before I quit this article of marriage, I ſhall take notice of what happened at court, with regard to mademoiſelle de Melun my niece, whom they thought likewiſe of marrying at that time, as her fortune was extremely large, the marchioneſs de Roubais my aunt having made her her ſole heir.

The family of D'Eſtrées caſt their eyes on her for a wife to De Cœuvres †; they thought themſelves ſure of the king's intereſt; and the affair was propoſed to him by M. de Vendome himſelf, to whom the king promiſed that he would ſpeak to me of it before he left Chantilly. He recollected the affair when he was at Louvreen-Pariſis, where they went to dine, and wrote to me concerning it in terms which ſhewed how earneſtly he deſired the marriage might be concluded.

I wrote to the young lady's relations, who were all Flemings; but the anſwer they gave me being ſuch as I neither ought nor could repeat to my ſovereign, I ſent him none at all; and when at his return he aſked me the reaſon, I only told him, that mademoiſelle de Melun's relations did not approve of the propoſed alliance. The king ſuppoſing that it was myſelf who anſwered for them, and that I had not wrote to them about the affair, I was obliged to ſhew him the letters I had received from the mar-

† Francis-Hannibal D'Eſtrées, marquis of Cœuvres, duke and peer and marechal of France.

chioneſs

1605. chioneſs de Roubais, the prince and princeſs de Ligne, the princeſs d'Epinoy, the counteſs de Barlemont, and the counts de Fontenay, and de Buquoy, who had all written to me upon the ſame ſubject. Henry, in theſe letters, finding, what I would not tell him, that notwithſtanding the honours he had conferred on the houſe of D'Eſtrées, they thought it beneath their alliance, "I ſee," ſaid this prince with ſome reſentment, "that ſince "we have to do with all theſe proud Flemiſh fools, "we muſt think no more of it." Accordingly the affair went no farther, his majeſty being reſolved not to meddle in it any more.

END of the THIRD VOLUME.

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